ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation:	THE ARTĚL COOPERATIVE (1908-1934): CRAFTING CZECH MODERNITY
	Lyndsay Dolf Bratton, Doctor of Philosophy, 2020
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Eight founding members of Artěl—the Prague avant-garde's response to the Wiener Werkstätte—united in 1908 with a manifesto proclaiming their goals to combat inferior factory substitutes for handcrafted designs and to restore society with a sense of taste through affordable products for everyday life. Across Artěl's stylistic, political, and ideological development, its members consistently demonstrated the complementary relationship between the folk and the modern. Whether working in the Czech variant of Cubism in the final years of the Habsburg Dual Monarchy, the folk-infused nationalist "decorativism" of the First Czechoslovak Republic after 1918, or the sober Functionalism of the late 1920s, Artěl designers struck an aesthetic balance between regional Czech folk arts and international avant-garde styles. The group thereby served to construct and promote a distinctively Czech visual culture for the international stage at a transformative moment in Czech history.

THE ARTĚL COOPERATIVE (1908-1934): CRAFTING CZECH MODERNITY

by

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Dedication

To Edie and Otto

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List of Abbreviations

DP: Družstevní práce [Cooperative Work]

MAK: Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst [Austrian Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna]

PUD: Pražské umělecké dílny [Prague Art Workshops]

SČD: Svaz českého díla [Czech Werkbund]

SČSD: Svaz československého díla [Czechoslovak Werkbund]

SVU: Skupina výtvarných umělců [Group of Fine Artists]

SVU Mánes: Spolek výtvarných umělců Mánes [Mánes Association of Fine Artists]

UPM: Uměleckoprůmyslové muzeum Praha (UPM) [Museum of Decorative Arts, Prague]

UMPRUM: Vysoká škola uměleckoprůmyslová v Praze [Academy of Arts, Architecture and Design, Prague]

UP: Spojené uměleckoprůmyslové závody a.s. Brno [United Industry of Applied Arts in Brno]

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Introduction: Making the New Art Czech and Modern

Artist collectives specializing in housewares, textiles, architecture, and furniture design were prevalent across Europe in the first decades of the twentieth century. From William Morris and his circle in Great Britain[1] to the Deutscher Werkbund, Wiener Werkstätte, and the Bauhaus in Central Europe, all sought to restore the quality and creativity of handicrafts to industrial production and to bring art into the everyday lives of the average citizen. Most can be understood as a reaction to the perceived destructive effects of industrialization on traditional craftsmanship. The participation in these artist collectives of young designers, who embraced avant-garde formal experiments and philosophical issues of modernity, allowed for modernism in the visual arts to be marketed to the broader public through architectural commissions and the sale of furniture, textiles, drinking glasses, lighting fixtures, toys, and more. Prague, a cultural capital of Austria-Hungary, whose only domestic rivals for prominence were the two capitals of the Dual Monarchy—Vienna and Budapest—suffered no shortage of these groups.

Artěl (1908-1934), a name borrowed from the Russian word for a workers' cooperative, "артель," was Prague's answer to the Wiener Werkstätte [Vienna Workshops] (1903-1932). Artěl's example would encourage the founding of several similar organizations in Prague, between which there was much overlap and

[1] Morris, Marshall, Faulkner, and Co. (1861-1875), "Fine Art Workmen in Painting, Carving, Furniture and the Metals," was jointly founded by several artists involved in the Pre-Raphaelites group to produce and sell handicrafts for the home, inspired by medieval guild organizations and techniques.

cooperation across memberships. A second cooperative, the Pražské umělecké dílny (PUD), or "Prague Art Workshops" (1912-c. 1922) formed among prominent Cubist architects in 1912, with financial support from a paper industrialist. The Svaz českého díla (SČD), or "Czech Werkbund" (1914-1920), united just before war broke out in 1914 and halted their efforts until 1920, when its members resumed activity under the new name Svaz československého díla (SČSD), or "Czechoslovak Werkbund" (1920-1948). While these applied artist groups were conceptually similar to Wiener Kunst im Hause [Viennese Art in the Home] (1900-1904), the Wiener Werkstätte, the Deutscher Werkbund (1907-1938), and the Austrian Werkbund (1912-1938), Czech artist cooperatives worked within a different sociopolitical context, which shaped their goals, styles, and activities. First, they operated until 1918 within a nation without a state, subject to the Austrian crown.[2] Likewise, they functioned within a city that, while predominantly Czech in population, had been politically and socially dominated by German Bohemians for centuries until the 1880s. Thus, there was a profound tension between Slavs and Germans, each claiming their local cultural

[2] Here I use "nation" with the same meaning as Benedict Anderson (b. 1936) to describe a people who are united by a shared history, language, and culture, but who may or may not be part of an internationally-recognized autonomous political state. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983). In addition to the Austro-Germans, the Dual Monarchy consisted of ten other recognized nations, based on primary linguistic identification—Magyars, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Ruthenes, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Romanians, and Italians. These groups all experienced the rise of a sense of national consciousness beginning in the early nineteenth century, peaking in the Europe-wide revolutionary fervor of 1848, and reignited in the decades before the First World War. Jews also made up four percent of Austria-Hungary's population. They were "not recognized in the decennial censuses as a separate 'nationality,' but were classified as seemed most appropriate in each case, usually on the basis of acknowledged first language [...] Austro-Hungarian Jews thus occupied a difficult position half way between that of the more fully integrated Jews of Germany and the still overtly ostracized Jews of Russia." Elizabeth Clegg, *Art, Design & Architecture in Central Europe 1890-1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 10.

hegemony.[3] A further distinction is that Czech modern artist collectives mined the folk-art traditions of their own Slavic culture to project an image of the Czech nation during a period of widespread national reawakening within Austria-Hungary. In terms of sociopolitical perspectives, Artěl, the PUD, and the SČSD shared more essential characteristics with the Polish groups Towarzystwo Polska Sztuka Stosowana[4] [Polish Applied Art Society] (1901-1913) and Warsztaty Krakowskie [Kraków Workshops] (1913-1926), or the later Croatian group Udruga za Promicanje Umjetnog Obrta Djelo [Djelo Association for Promoting the Crafts] (1926-early 1930s), than with their counterparts in Vienna and Germany. The Czech collectives, however, were alone among these Central European applied arts groups in actively engaging with the ultramodern prewar styles of Cubism and Expressionism, exploring French and German avant-garde art as a signal of their transnational, modern outlook, and, at the same time, articulating a blend of the two styles to create a distinctive and modern iconography of Czechness.

The changing political circumstances in Central Europe after the First World War prompted a political engagement on the part of Czech artists that shaped their

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[3] German and Czech tensions extend into history as far back as King Přemysl Otakar II (1233-1278) of the Přemyslid dynasty (9th c.-1306), who sought to establish towns throughout the Kingdom of Bohemia in the 13th century, populating them largely with German craftsmen and merchants who would foster rapid economic growth. Czech resentment of the incoming Germans arose almost immediately, and tensions would wax and wane throughout the second millennium AD. Derek Sayer, *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 32, 40. For more on Czech-German conflict in Prague, see also Gary B. Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861-1914* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980).

[4] The Society was founded by Jerzy Warchałowski (1874-1939) and published the journal *Wydawnictwo Towarzystwo Polskiej Sztuki Stosowanej* (later called *Sztuka Stosowana*) from 1902 until 1913. Like the founders of Artěl, Warchałowski promoted the revitalization of Polish arts industry through the adaptation of folk elements to modern materials and needs.

design history and distinguishes it further from that of Western European artists. In the interwar period, Artěl and the SČSD designed products for and constructed the built environment of the democratic new nation in a regional variant of Art Deco, often receiving commissions or support from branches of the Czechoslovak government. The acclaim these artists received in exhibitions abroad carried on into the International Style of the late 1920s and early 1930s.[5] Numerous artists and architects from Slavic nations to the east and south studied in Prague, bringing the ideas they gained from Czech artist circles back to Zagreb, Ljubljana, and elsewhere.[6] Thus, these Czech groups' significance to the development of avant-garde art in Central Europe and beyond is worthy of further inquiry.

This dissertation explores the activities of Artěl to reveal the contribution of the relatively unknown (outside the field of Czech art history) Czech applied artists and architects to the promotion of Czech national consciousness and to the construction of a visual culture for the modern Czech nation before and after achieving statehood. The study investigates the artists' simultaneous use of national folk art and international avant-garde styles to demonstrate how Czech groups

[5] At the 1925 Paris Exposition, Czechs earned many accolades, including architect Josef Gočár's Grand Prize for the Czechoslovak Pavilion and Ladislav Sutnar's silver medal for toy design. Sutnar went on to win the gold medal in exhibition design at the 1929 Barcelona exhibition, and he designed the exhibits displayed in the Functionalist Czechoslovak Pavilion for the 1939 World Exposition in New York, which garnered much media attention. Jaromír Krejcar (1895-1950) also won acclaim for Czechoslovak Functionalism at the 1937 Paris Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne, for which he designed the Czech Pavilion and won two Grand Prizes and a gold medal.

[6] Examples include Croatian architect Ignjat Fischer (1870-1948); the Prague Four artists of Croatia: Marijan Trepše (1887-1964), Vilko Gecan (1894-1973), Milivoj Uzelac (1897-1977), and Vladimir Varlaj (1895-1962); Slovene Impressionist painter Rihard Jakopić (1869-1943); and Slovene Expressionists Božidar Jakac (1899-1989), Francè Kralj (1895-1960), and Tone Kralj (1900-1975).

differed from other similar and more widely researched organizations operating in Central Europe at the same time, both recovering the history of Czech applied arts from an obscurity that is the result of Cold War geopolitics in the second half of the twentieth century and resituating that history within the broader context of European modernism. A synthesis of formal analysis and the sociopolitical contextualization of Czech applied artists working in Prague between 1908 and the 1930s contributes to existing scholarship on Central and Eastern European modernism a deeper understanding of not only the development of modernist Czech applied arts, but also of the transnational scope of early-twentieth-century applied arts collectives.

Additionally, the dissertation charts the involvement of numerous women artists in these collectives, many of whose accomplishments remain unacknowledged since the early-twentieth century. Several studies have explored the resurgence of "cottage industries" in Central and Eastern Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the role that women played in this process, which provided new educational and professional opportunities for women and helped pave a path toward women's full participation in artistic production of the twentieth century.[7] This dissertation looks at the first generations of women who benefitted from these new opportunities. It also analyzes the role of women as symbols of modernity in the early-twentieth century—an association formed primarily because of their

[7] Wendy R. Salmond, *Arts and Crafts in Late Imperial Russia: Reviving the Kustar Art Industries, 1870-1917* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Jeremy Howard, *East European Art, 1650-1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Rebecca Houze, "At the Forefront of a Newly Emerging Profession? Ethnography, Education and the Exhibition of Women's Needlework in Austria-Hungary in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 1 (2008): 19-40; Houze, "From Wiener Kunst im Hause to the Wiener Werkstätte: Marketing Domesticity with Fashionable Interior Design," *Design Issues* 18, no. 1 (Winter, 2002): 3-23; etc.

relationship with fashion and consumerism, as well as their changing roles in society and their increased participation in cultural institutions. The role of women as a symbol of Czech modernity further demonstrates the importance of women's participation in applied arts collectives, as the image of the urban, fashion-forward "New Woman" represented the Czech nation as Western-oriented, fully industrialized, and ultramodern. Artěl was the first applied artist collective in Prague to include women among its founders and many members.

Artěl in the Literature

Apart from an unpublished dissertation completed at Charles University in Prague in 1962,[8] and an article published in the German journal *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* in the late 1980s,[9] the only monographic project concerning Artěl was conducted for a centennial exhibition staged by the Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze (UPM) [Prague Museum of Decorative Arts] in 2008.[10] The show traveled subsequently to the Design Museum, Ghent, Belgium (2009) and the Museu Valencià de la Il-lustració I de la Modernitat (MUVIM) [Valencian Museum of Enlightenment and Modernity], Valencia, Spain (2010), where only brief summaries

[8] Jarmila Brožová, *Artěl. Příspěvek k dějinám čs. Novodobého průmyslu 1900-1935 (Artěl: Contribution to the History of Modern Industry, 1900-1935)* (PhD diss., Charles University, 1962). Brožová later published an article on Artěl, as well: "Mezník ve vývoji českého užitého umění," *Umění a řemesla* 6 (1967): 202-208.

[9] Vera Behal, "Artěl—das Atelier für Kunstgewerbe in Prag," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 50, no. 1 (1987): 116-130.

[10] Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935 [Artěl: Art for Every Day, 1908-1935]* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008).

of the original 400-page catalogue, *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935 [Artěl: Art for Every Day, 1908-1935]* were published in Flemish/English and Spanish/Catalan editions. In 2011, the exhibition traveled to the Grassi Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Leipzig, Germany where a full German-language edition of the catalogue was published.

Artěl has been treated in several broader works related to the Wiener Werkstätte and Czech Cubism over the last several decades. A large, award-winning catalogue accompanied the 1989 Museum of Decorative Arts exhibition *Czech Cubism 1909-1925* and includes a short essay on Artěl, the PUD, and the SČSD, as well as two excurses containing reprints of archival documents pertaining to the groups.[11] Another study, published in 1991 by Brigitte Selden, sets forth a typology of abstract style among the products designed by the Wiener Werkstätte, Artěl, and the Prague Art Workshops.[12] More recently, the 2016 catalogue for an exhibition held at the Belvedere Museum in Vienna includes a chapter on Artěl and the Wiener

[11] Jana Horneková, "Artěl, the PUD, and the SČSD," in *Czech Cubism, 1909-1925: Art, Architecture, Design*, edited by Jiří Švestka, Tomáš Vlček, and Pavel Liška (Prague: i3 and Modernista, 2006): 284-297; Vojtěch Lahoda, "Exkurz: Czech Cubist Companies" *ibid*: 298-299; and Waltraud Neuwirth "Excursus: Artěl and Vienna," *ibid*: 300-311. The catalogue was originally published in German and Czech editions, and won the 1991 Best Art Publication award from the ASDA in Paris. The 2006 re-edition included an English version. The original exhibition traveled from Prague to Brno and Düsseldorf.

[12] Brigitte Selden, *Das dualistische Prinzip: Zur Typologie abstrakter Formensprache in der angewandten Kunst, dargestellt am Beispiel der Wiener Werkstätte, des Artěl und der Prager Kunstwerkstätten* (*Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft*) [*The Dualistic Principle: On the Typology of Abstract Style in Applied Art, Illustrated by the Examples of the Wiener Werkstätte, Artěl, and the Prague Art Workshops*] (Munich: Scaneg, 1991).

Werkstätte, and their philosophical similarities, as well as chapters on Czech Cubism and toy design in Vienna and the Czech Lands.[13]

While scholars of Central and Eastern European modern art have rightly highlighted a preoccupation with nationalism as one of the distinguishing characteristics of the region's cultural production, the especially prominent role of applied arts in national image-construction remains an emerging area of scholarship on the Czech Lands and other Central European fronts.[14] Furthermore, the relationships between the Czech cooperatives and other contemporary artist collectives in Europe—most evident in group exhibiting practices—remain undeveloped in the literature on European applied arts. These gaps in research on the subject also result in a neglect of the unprecedented active participation and important contributions of women working in Czech applied artist groups. Lastly, while art historians in recent years have paid much attention to Czech Cubism, scholars have not attended to its origins in Arts-and-Crafts-inspired artistic activity, nor to the Cubist applied artists' participation in Artěl. This study demonstrates how the international marketing of Czech modernism was accomplished through the applied

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[13] Rainald Franz, "Artěl and the Wiener Werkstätte: A Convergence of Ideas," in *Cubism, Constructivism, Form Art*, edited by Agnes Husslein-Arco and Alexander Klee (New York: Prestel, 2016): 67-76; Vojtěch Lahoda, "Cubism in Prague as a Form Art?," *ibid*: 35-44; and Helena Koenigsmarková, "Children's Toys in the Czech Lands and Vienna and the Characteristics of Form Art," *ibid*: 57-66.

[14] Polish Arts and Crafts are perhaps an exception, as numerous studies in recent years have charted the development of applied arts in the first three decades of the twentieth-century: Anna Brzyski, "Between the Nation and the World: Nationalism and Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Poland," *Centropa* 1, no. 3 (September 2001): 165–179; David Crowley, "Pragmatism and Fantasy in the Making of the Zakopane Style," *Centropa* 2, no. 3 (September 2002): 182–96; Andrzej Szczerski, "Sources of Modernity: The Interpretations of Vernacular Crafts in Polish Design around 1900," *The Journal of Modern Craft* 1, no. 1 (March 2008): 55-76; etc.

arts in particular, due to the engagement with and participation in international artistic movements of Cubism, Art Deco, and Functionalism by the artists and designers who contributed to Artěl and other contemporary artists' groups in Prague.

Across Artěl's stylistic, political, and ideological development, its members consistently demonstrated the complementary relationship between the folk and the modern. The group is a key organization in early-twentieth-century Prague that exemplifies this duality of Czech modernism, identified by Lada Hubatová-Vačková;[15] yet it has largely been ignored in the construction of a canonical history of Czech modernism, and even in the historiography of Czech Cubism. Whether working in the Czech variant of Cubism and Expressionism in the final years of the Habsburg Dual Monarchy, the folk-infused nationalist "decorativism" of the First Czechoslovak Republic after 1918, or the sober Functionalism of the late 1920s, Artěl designers sought an aesthetic balance between regional Czech folk arts and international avant-garde styles. This dissertation shows how the group thereby played an active role in constructing and promoting a distinctively Czech visual culture for the international stage at a transformative moment in Czech history.

Chapter Outline

The structure of the dissertation follows an arc charting the stylistic and philosophical development of the Prague-based group Artěl, in parallel with the dissolution of Austria-Hungary, the birth of the First Czechoslovak Republic, and its

[15] Lada Hubatová-Vačková, "Art of the People and Art for the People: Folk Craft as a Model for Czechoslovak Modernist Design," *Centropa* 14, no. 3 (2014): 247-259.

demise preceding the Second World War. Each chapter addresses a stylistic phase of the group's development. Narratives interwoven into this arc include various approaches to fusing folk art and modern styles; the roles women played for the first time in the avant-garde; the charge of the applied arts to provide a democratic, utilitarian, national, modern art form for the everyday citizen's home; and the relationships between the Czech avant-garde and the Pan-Slavic and national consciousness movements and international modernist art movements. Exhibitions at home and abroad are a revealing lens through which Artěl's message and style were communicated to Czech and foreign audiences, and each chapter includes a discussion of relevant exhibitions.

An understanding of the philosophical and political perspectives and artistic contributions of Artěl to Czech modernism can only be reached through a contextualization of Bohemian history leading up to the early-twentieth century. The introduction provides a brief historical overview of the Czech nation, from the settlement of Bohemian tribes in the sixth century through the Czech National Revival of the nineteenth century, and of the debates on and responses to the idea of a national art. Special attention is paid to developments in arts and culture that influence or help give rise to the founding of such an organization as Artěl in 1908.

Chapter 1, *Arts and Crafts: Selling Czech National Consciousness (1907-1910)*, explores the reception of the Arts and Crafts movement in Bohemia at the turn of the century, as well as the influence of folk art in modern art circles in Prague. The extent to which the participating designers intentionally put their work at the service of promoting national consciousness is explored, as well as the question of why the

applied arts were especially well-suited—intentionally or not—to this end. Additionally, the chapter demonstrates how women became involved in the avant-garde for the first time. As Artěl sought to revive the arts and crafts for the modern age, its members relied upon the expertise of women in production techniques and folk iconography. This opening frames Artěl as an experimental group and epicenter of activity for applied artists drawn to the approach of melding local and national traditions with international styles.

- Important exhibitions of Artěl's work in the Dual Monarchy during this period include:
    - *Jubilee Exhibition*, Prague, 1908, Artěl
    - *Winter Exhibition of Austrian Arts and Crafts*, MAK, Vienna, 1909, 1910

Chapter 2, *Czech Cubism: Branding Czech Art (1910-1918)*, examines the development of Czech Cubism in the applied arts and architecture as a synthesis and regional interpretation of Cubist and Expressionist theory. The study addresses the question of why Czech artists, in particular, chose to adapt these styles from painting and sculpture to new ends in utilitarian and decorative arts. It further explores how Czech Cubism served both to bolster Czech national consciousness and to trademark Czech modernism. Several of the pioneers of Czech Cubism, who exhibited with Cubist painters and sculptors, were cofounders and members of Artěl, including Pavel Janák, Josef Chochol, Vlastislav Hofman, and Otakar Novotný. Thus, the relationships between Artěl and other Czech avant-garde groups, such as the PUD, Osma [The Eight], and Skupina výtvarných umělců (SVU) [Group of Fine Artists] (1911-1914) will also be treated in this chapter. Furthermore, this chapter addresses

the professional contacts formed between the cooperatives and Czech manufacturing companies in order to assess crucial factors of the collectives' operations, such as economic success, geographic scope, technical facility, and the use of industrial production. Finally, the chapter includes an analysis of the gendered divisions among Artěl artists. Women typically worked in the more traditional media, such as textiles and decorative painting, and were largely excluded from the practice and historical narrative of Czech Cubist design, which found its expression primarily in architecture, metalwork, and formal experiments in glass and ceramics. Experimental women pioneers, such as Marie Teinitzerová and Helena Johnová, are discussed.

- Exhibitions in the Dual Monarchy and abroad include:
    - *Winter Exhibition of Austrian Arts and Crafts*, MAK, Vienna, 1911, 1913
    - *Spring Exhibition of Austrian Arts and Crafts*, Vienna, 1912, Artěl
    - *First Skupina Exhibition*, Municipal House, Prague, January-February 1912
    - *Second Skupina Exhibition*, Municipal House, Prague, September-October 1912
    - *Third Skupina Exhibition*, Hans Goltz's "Neue Kunst" salon, Munich, Germany, April 5-16, 1913
    - *Fourth Skupina Exhibition*, Municipal House, Prague, May 10-June, 1913: Picasso, Braque, Derain, modern graphics, folk and exotic art
    - *Fifth Skupina Exhibition* and *First Herbstsalon Exhibition*, Der Sturm Gallery, Berlin, September 20-November 1, 1913
    - *45th Exhibition of the Mánes Art Society*, "Modern Art", Kinský Gardens, Prague, February-March 1914
    - *Sixth Skupina Exhibition*, Municipal House, Prague, February-March 1914
    - *Werkbund Exhibition*, Cologne, May 16, 1914, Artěl, PUD: 1 room in the Austrian section, SČSD: 1 hall designed by Otakar Novotný
    - *Exhibition of Czech Artistic Industry*, Prague Municipal Hall, 1916, Artěl, PUD

- *Marie Teinitzerová*, 1916, exhibition, Museum of Decorative Arts (UPM), Prague
- *Artěl: 10th Anniversary Exhibition*, Museum of Decorative Arts (UPM), Prague, 1918

Chapter 3, *The Czech National Style: Marketing the Czech Nation at Home and Abroad (1918-1925)*, demonstrates how the image of Czech modernism was spread and received largely through the medium of the international exhibition. After the First World War, the Czechoslovak National Council in Prague proclaimed independence from Austria-Hungary with the Washington Declaration in 1918. In the ensuing years, Czech modern artists renewed their search for a modern Czech national style with a deliberately outward-facing focus. During this time, Artěl participated regularly in exhibitions in Prague, Vienna, and beyond, and the Czech variant of Art Deco was well-received by international audiences. This publicity was instrumental in conveying the concept and iconography of a Czech modernity to domestic and international audiences. The chapter closely considers how women's participation in the arts was used after the First World War to bolster the image of the modern Czech nation and to promote a link between modernism and the patriotic folk traditions that remained bound to notions of femininity and domesticity. These exhibitions also served to bring Czech women artists into contact with their international peers, including women at the Bauhaus. The dialogues around art and fashion and women and modernity feature in this discussion.

- Exhibitions abroad include:
  - Trade Fair, Lyon, France, 1919-1920
  - Exposição do Centenario, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1922
  - *Mostra internazionale di arte decorative*, Monza, Italy, 1923

    - *International Exposition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts*, Paris, 1925

- Domestic exhibitions and commissions include:
    - *Umění v módě* [*Art in Fashion*], 1921, exhibition, Museum of Decorative Arts (UPM), Prague, Artěl
    - *Prague Sample Fairs* [*Pražský vzorkový veletrh*], 1920s, Artěl
    - *First Exhibition of Czechoslovak Applied Arts*, Museum of Decorative Arts (UPM), Prague, 1921-1922, SČSD
    - Hviezdoslav Hotel, Štrbské pleso, Slovakia, 1922 (interior furnishings for 30 rooms)
    - *Second Exhibition of Czechoslovak Applied Arts*, Museum of Decorative Arts (UPM), Prague, 1923, SČSD

The conclusion chapter, *The International Style and Artěl's Final Years (1925-1934)*, charts the waning years of Artěl. After Art Deco fell out of favor across Europe following its peak fervor at the 1925 International Exposition in Paris, Artěl's aesthetic shifted quickly toward Functionalism and the International Style, for which the Czech avant-garde at large would be internationally celebrated. This chapter focuses on Artěl's achievements in this movement, even as increasing financial troubles, diversified competition in Czechoslovakia, and a wider dispersal of Artěl members strained the organization. There are fewer known Artěl designs from this period. Jaroslava Vondráčková served as the group's president in the late 1920s, leading its youngest generation of women designers in more experimental and avant-garde directions than Artěl's founding women members. Due to the failing economies across Europe in the early 1930s, Artěl declared bankruptcy in 1934 and sold its remaining stock to the Museum of Applied Arts in Vienna. One affiliated artist collective, the Svaz československého díla—to which many Artěl artists also belonged over the years—weathered the storm and continued to exist after the Second

World War throughout the early years of Soviet influence. Their success in comparison to Artěl's demise is analyzed.

- Exhibitions include:
    - *Exhibition of Contemporary Art*, Brno, 1928
    - Baba Housing Estate, Prague, 1928-1932, SČSD, including Artěl members

The Czech Nation: An Historical Overview

The following brief historical overview of the Czech nation is written with an eye toward the events and conditions that would bear the most influence and weight on the modern artists working in Prague in the early-twentieth century. For a comprehensive history of the Czech Lands, see Derek Sayer's *Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History* (1998) or Mikuláš Teich's edited volume, *Bohemia in History* (1998).[16]

The area lying on the Vltava River in what is now known as Prague was settled by the Boii tribe of Gallic Celts by the sixth century.[17] It was here that the Czech Přemyslid Dynasty built Prague Castle in the late-ninth century and consolidated their rule, which would last until 1306. Early Přemyslid rulers converted to Christianity, became a unified state under King Wenceslas (ruled c. 922-935), and gained territory to include Moravia and Silesia—all the area that is still referred to today as the Czech Lands.

[16] Sayer, *Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History*; and Mikuláš Teich, ed., *Bohemia in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[17] The Bohemian region's name comes from the word "Boii."

Bohemia experienced its "Golden Age" in the fourteenth century, when, under the reign of Charles IV (1316-1378), Prague became the capital of the Bohemian Kingdom and of the Holy Roman Empire. Charles IV's support of education and the arts is still palpable today in the city's architecture and rich cultural heritage. Educated in France, the son of King John of Luxembourg and Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia, Charles IV (ruled 1346-1378), was a worldly king, fluent in five languages.[18] In 1348 he founded in Prague the first university north of the Alps and east of the Rhine and supported the use of the Czech language alongside Latin in educational and religious institutions.[19] King Charles made further lasting marks on Prague by creating the New Town (Nové Město) based on recent urban expansion in Paris, bridging the two sides of the Vltava River in Prague for the first time with the stone Charles Bridge, as well as granting money to build part of the cathedral of St. Vitus and make significant additions to the Prague Castle complex in the High Gothic style.

Bohemia in the fifteenth century was marked by the political and religious instability of the pre-Protestant reformation movement sparked by Jan Hus (1369-1415). Trained at Charles University in Prague, Hus was a preacher in Prague's Bethlehem Chapel, which he used as a forum to build a following in his efforts to

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[18] Charles IV spoke and read Latin, German, French, Czech, and Italian.

[19] Alfred Thomas argues that the *Dalimil Chronicle* (c. 1314-1319), the first history of Bohemia written in Czech, demonstrates how even in the medieval period, Czech "collective identity was based on the Czech language, as distinct from the neighboring languages of German and Hungarian…the Old Czech word *jazyk* meant both 'language' and 'people.'" Alfred Thomas, "Forging Czechs," in *Cultures of Forgery: Making Nations, Making Selves*, edited by Judith Ryan and Alfred Thomas (Florence: Taylor and Francis, 2003): 31.

secularize the university and protest the sale of papal indulgences. After his execution in 1415, his followers built a movement that led to the Hussite Wars (1419-1434)—a series of Hussite rebellions against the Roman Catholic rulers and five retaliatory papal crusades. The second half of the century saw relatively democratic reforms for the time, including a shared balance of power between the monarch and the Estates (lords, knights, and the burghers elected by the free royal towns); a restricted role of the church in political matters; and limits to feudal power through the election of delegates. Further, the advent of printing brought the first publication of a Czech translation of the New Testament in 1475, and the first full translation of the Bible into Czech in 1488. Literacy rates increased during this time, especially as some Hussite reformers, such as the Taborites of Southern Bohemia, taught women and children to read the Bible in the Czech language. Bohemian identity became at this time closely linked to the Hussite religious reform movement, while later Czech nationalists would claim Bohemian identity was already connected to language in the fifteenth century due to the reformers' use of Czech.[20]

From 1526, when Habsburg Ferdinand I (1503-1564)[21] was elected king of Bohemia by the Czech Estates, Czech culture began to wane, as the previously co-existing Germanic population gained more power and influence through the support

[20] Again, Alfred Thomas draws these religious developments back to the use of language as a signifier of national identity when he writes, "One reason why the Hussites had such a strong sense of political and national identity was that they were able to read the Bible in their own language." *Ibid*, 34.

[21] Ferdinand I was born and raised in Spain and married Anne of Bohemia and Hungary in 1515. He was elected King of Bohemia and Hungary in 1526 and King of Croatia in 1527, and he was crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1558.

of the Habsburg monarchy. Ferdinand reneged on his promises to the Estates and reduced their power in favor of an orthodox Catholic, centralist monarchy. The third Habsburg ruler in Bohemia, Rudolf II (ruled 1576-1611), is considered to be an ineffective political leader, but he played an important role in the development of Prague's cultural institutions and infrastructure. He chose Prague as his seat in 1583, moving the court to Prague Castle. He was an avid art collector and brought works to his court by Italian, Flemish, and German masters.[22] Rudolf's complementary interest in the sciences manifested in an unmatched *Kunstkammer* [cabinet of curiosities] at Prague Castle, as well as his reception of Tycho Brahe and Johannes Kepler as attendants of the court. During Rudolf's reign, Prague again became a cultural center of Europe, as it had been over 200 years earlier under Charles IV.

The Habsburg rulers of Bohemia would continue their Counter Reformation efforts to varying degrees of brutality until the decisive Battle of White Mountain in 1620, when an uprising of the Protestant nobles was soundly defeated, and Ferdinand II (ruled 1621-1637) was able to establish a more centralized monarchy. He prohibited Protestantism and gave German equal standing with Czech language within the Bohemian kingdom. The ensuing Thirty Years' War failed to regain power for the Czech Estates, and the Treaty of Westphalia signed in 1648 reinforced Habsburg rule, and therefore Roman Catholicism. The Habsburg absolutism and suppression of local Czech authority encouraged the Habsburg loyalists to increase

[22] Unfortunately, these collections do not remain in Prague today. They were dispersed during the Thirty Years' War, with any remainders being looted by the Swedish army in 1648.

their influence significantly as they became the primary landowners throughout the Czech Lands.

During the peaceful Baroque period in Bohemia, from 1648 until the 1730s, nobles' interest in collecting art greatly increased, and their tastes were influenced by the Habsburg rulers' interest in Italian art since the time of Ferdinand I. Italian builders left their mark throughout Bohemia and Moravia (especially in the southern regions), as they were commissioned to build many Catholic churches and noble estates. Their influence over time resulted in the development of a regional variant of the Italian Baroque style, which was adapted to the local Bohemian and Moravian architecture **[FIGURES 1-2]**. Jan Blažej Santini Aichel's (1677-1723) Pilgrimage Church of Saint John of Nepomuk (1719-1727) demonstrates how the Czech Lands' central location in Europe has long fostered remarkable cases of mixing and remixing styles from disparate areas of the continent. In this case, the architect blends northern Gothic and southern Baroque influences to create a uniquely Central European form and style for the period. This highly productive age of Czech art and architecture would later hold much interest for modernists seeking to demonstrate the greatness and distinctiveness of Czech art across history.

This historical narrative of the Bohemian crown and the Czech Lands contains a wealth of heroic figures and generates a continuous, direct link to a Czech past that would serve the advocates of the Czech National Revival movement from the late eighteenth century across the nineteenth century. Historian and politician František Palacký (1798-1876) was a key figure in rousing Czech national sentiment with his publication of *Časopis Českého musea* [*Journal of the Czech Museum*] in 1825,

which focused on Czech literary arts. He subsequently published *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a v Moravě* [*The History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia*] (five volumes published between 1836 and 1867), which concludes in 1526 with the end of Czech autonomy.[23] His work was censored by the government for its positive treatment of the Hussite movement, causing Palacký to publish an amended version of his original text. During the 1848 Revolutions, which swept across the Austrian Empire, Palacký helped organize the first Slavonic Congress in Prague. The Congress brought together Slavs from many nations ruled by the Austrians to discuss the role of the Austrian Empire in the local Slavic governments and populations. Pieter Judson argues that the 1848 Revolutions were "largely about redefining how the empire functioned, not getting rid of it."[24] In their push for more political autonomy within the empire, Czech politicians sought the appointment of an archduke to serve as a viceroy in Prague, increased municipal autonomy, increased use of Czech language in schools, the abolition of censorship and forced labor, and the creation of a citizens' militia to protect against "proletarian disorder."[25] The issue of language became a keystone of Czech nationalism from this point forward.

In the nineteenth century, many Central European intellectuals were inspired by the writings of Johann Gottfried von Herder, who argued in his 1772 Francophobic *Treatise on the Origin of Language* that the predominant identifying characteristic of

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[23] František Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a v Moravě* (Prague: Bursík & Kohout, 1836-1867).

[24] Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2016): 171.

[25] *Ibid*, 172-173.

a "nation" is its language.[26] He advocated for patriotism and nationalism through the collective nurturing and elevation of each nation's own cultural traditions—primarily in the forms of folklore, dance, music, and art. In 1809, a like-minded intellectual with Czech heritage, Josef Dobrovský (1753-1829), first codified Czech grammar, which had been a spoken language with no standardized literary form.[27] Josef Jungmann (1773-1847) published a five-volume Czech-German dictionary between 1834 and 1839.[28] Dobrovský and Jungmann together are considered to be the creators of the modern Czech language, and their linguistic milestones led later generations to translate earlier literature into Czech and begin to write their own new works in their mother tongue by the mid-nineteenth century.

The December Constitution of 1867 officially granted equal status to national languages throughout the Austrian Empire, allowing for their uncontested use in educational, administrative, and other public institutions.[29] Between 1880 and 1910, Prague's Czech-speaking population swelled from around 213,000 to 405,000, as many people from predominantly Czech-speaking rural towns and villages migrated

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[26] Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache* [*Treatise on the Origin of Language*] (Berlin: C. F. Voss, 1772).

[27] Josef Dobrovský, *Ausführliches Lehrgebäude der böhmischen Sprache* [*Comprehensive Doctrine of the Bohemian Language*] (Prague: G. Haase, 1809).

[28] Josef Jungmann, *Slownjk česko-německý* [*Czech-German Dictionary*], 5 vol. (Prague: W. Špinky, 1834-1839). Jungmann, like Dobrovský, had one Bohemian-German parent and one Czech parent.

[29] The Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary was established in a compromise earlier the same year. Before this point, Austria was an absolute monarchy with no constitution. The December Constitution was signed by Emperor Franz Joseph and applied to the northern and western (Austrian) half of the Dual Monarchy. It established the Basic Law on the General Rights of Nationals (a bill of rights) granting equality before the law for all Austria-Hungary's nationalities, the end of serfdom, and freedom of the press, religion and assembly.

to the city, while the German-speaking population declined from 38,500 to 32,300, or seven percent of the population.[30] The previously German-language universities were divided in 1882 into separate German and Czech institutions, and expansion of the franchise in combination with Czech nationalists' efforts to convince voters to vote for Czech candidates helped institute a majority-Czech representation in government by the 1880s.

Nationalist divisions in Prague reached a crescendo in the first years of the twentieth century; however, even the rabble-rousing Czech nationalists still saw their future within the Austrian Empire. The central question was how much autonomy they could achieve. During the First World War, however, Czech politicians abandoned their long-held hopes of reforming the Dual Monarchy. A new resistance formed a joint Czech and Slovak, anti-Austrian, independent alliance, most known for their voluntary military units—the Legionnaires—who fought on the side of the Allies. From exile in Geneva, Switzerland, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850-1937)[31] pushed for Czechoslovak independence as the war waned, and Czechs recognized that the allied Germans and Austrians would not be interested in granting Czechs further

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[30] Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic* Survival, 65-71. Ten-year censes conducted by the Austrian imperial government during these years asked for the single "language of everyday use," despite the fact that many residents were bilingual. This contributed to a sense of national divisions, requiring that each resident choose which language/nation by which officially to identify.

[31] Masaryk was born to a working-class family in Moravia and studied philosophy at the University of Vienna. He married an American, Charlotte Garrigue, in 1878, taking her name to demonstrate his belief in gender equality. In 1882, he was appointed Professor of Philosophy at Charles University. During the First World War, he organized Czech and Slovak ex-pats in Switzerland, France, England, Russia, and the United States in support of Czechoslovak independence. He was recognized by the Allies at the end of the war as the provisional head of the new Czechoslovak government, and was elected President of the First Czechoslovak Republic by the National Assembly in Prague in November 1918.

autonomy. In 1918, with the support of the United States, Masaryk signed the Washington Declaration, creating the First Czechoslovak Republic, which, with regard to this dissertation, plays a significant role in the second half of Artěl's history.

Mánes Association of Fine Artists: The Czech Secession

Turning to the artistic sphere of Czech cultural history just prior to the dawn of the twentieth century,[32] one finds similar developments in Prague as elsewhere across Europe—a secessionist movement of young artists banding together against the restraints and conservatism of the official art academies and their tired realism. In the Czech Academy of Fine Arts, the secession occurred in 1897, when the Spolek výtvarných umělců (SVU Mánes) [Mánes Association of Fine Artists] officially broke away from the Kunstverein für Böhmen [Art Union for Bohemia] by staging their own Czech-only group show.[33] The Kunstverein had been the primary organization of the art establishment in Prague from 1835, organizing large exhibitions at the Rudolfinum—Prague's multipurpose house of arts and music, built in 1885. The organization was, in theory, "ethnically neutral" and meant to serve Czech and German artists equally; however, it was no longer perceived as such by

[32] For an in-depth cultural history of the Czech Lands, see Sayer, *Coasts of Bohemia*.

[33] The Mánes Association formed in Prague in 1887 and was named in honor of the Czech painter Josef Mánes (1820-1871) whom many consider, then and now, to be the greatest Czech artist of the nineteenth century. It was the continuation of a group of radical young Czech artists working in Munich in 1885. The association included more than 300 members between 1887 and 1899 and fostered the shift from allegorical historicism in Czech painting to modernism with an international outlook. Until 1897, SVU Mánes exhibited their work in the same shows as the Kunstverein at the Rudolfinum.

Czech artists in the mid-1890s.[34] In 1895, the Kunstverein had allowed another German-Bohemian artist group, the Verein deutscher bildender Künstler in Böhmen (VdbKiB) [Union of German Artists in Bohemia], to hold an autonomous group show at the Rudolfinum—a privilege denied to the Mánes Association—spurring SVU Mánes members to stage their own autonomous exhibition in 1897 at the Topič gallery, owned by the Czech publisher František Topič (1858-1941). The Czech secession was as nationalistic in spirit as it was modern, the young artists of the Mánes Association of Fine Artists seeking to compete with German artists in Prague.[35] The SVU Mánes group included art critic František X. Šalda (1867-1937), sculptor Stanislav Sucharda (1866-1916), architect Jan Kotěra (1871-1923), painters Jože Úprka (1861-1940) and Mikoláš Aleš (1852-1913), and many artists who would be associated with the Artěl Cooperative later, such as Vratislav Hugo Brunner (1886-1928), Helena Johnová (1884-1962), and Vlastislav Hofman (1884-1964). The positioning of SVU Mánes as the primary Czech modern arts association, in opposition to the German arts scene in Prague, continued with the establishment of the periodical *Volné směry* [*Free Currents*], to which 1800 readers subscribed by 1903.[36] The journal included many drawings and reproductions of works by Arts-and-Crafts and Art Nouveau artists across Western Europe and America, as well as Czech

[34] Anna Brzyski, "Vienna Secession, Hagenbund, Sztuka, and Mánes: Competition and Strategic Collaboration among Central European Art Groups," *Centropa* 11, no. 1 (January 2011): 8.

[35] Clegg, 64.

[36] *Ibid*, 65.

translations of the writings of John Ruskin, Frank Lloyd Wright, and other foreign artists and architects.

The SVU Mánes invited foreign artists, including Auguste Rodin and Edvard Munch, to Prague for major exhibitions of their work and regularly exhibited contemporary French and German modern art in direct conversation with Czech art. They also staged exhibitions of other artists' work from throughout Austria-Hungary, including hosting exhibitions of the Vienna Secession in 1898, the Polish Sztuka group in 1902, and the Croatian Družstvo umjetnosti [Association of Art] in 1903.[37] In 1902, 132 Mánes artists exhibited at Sztuka's show in Kraków, and the association staged a show of Rodin's work in Prague in the group's new Art Nouveau exhibiting space, the Mánes Pavilion, designed by Jan Kotěra **[FIGURES 3-4]**. While the building was meant to be temporary and purpose-built for the Rodin exhibition, its central location and its modern functionality, with its open floor-plan and moveable exhibiting walls, led to the group's use of the building through 1914. In 1905, SVU Mánes hosted their ground-breaking exhibition of Edvard Munch's work, which would have a profound influence on Prague's youngest, most avant-garde artists over the next several years. The group's simultaneous support and professional development of Czech artists at home and abroad, as well as the introduction to

[37] For further reading on the 1890s generation and the relationships between Secessionist artist groups in Central Europe, see Katherine David-Fox, "Prague-Vienna, Prague-Berlin: The Hidden Geography of Czech Modernism," *Slavic Review* 59, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 735-760; Stefania Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska and Piotr Mizia, "'Sztuka,' 'Wiener Secession,' 'Mánes:" The Central European Art Triangle," *Artibus et Historiae* 27, no. 53 (2006): 217-259; Brzyski, "Vienna Secession, Hagenbund, Sztuka, and Mánes"; and, on the "second-generation" Secessionists (Brzyski, 6), see Agnes Husslein-Arco, Matthias Boeckl, and Harald Krejci, eds., *Hagenbund: A European Network of Modernism, 1900-1938* (Vienna: Hirmer Publishers, 2014).

Czech audiences of modern art from abroad,[38] had substantial impacts on the development of the Czech art scene as an autonomous, national endeavor, almost entirely separate from the German-Bohemian arts scene by the turn of the century.

The 1905 Munch exhibition by SVU Mánes proved divisive among Czech modern artists—some believed that the new Czech art should develop in direct conversation with international movements in Western Europe, while others thought this influence would dilute Czech art and subject it to criticisms of inferiority, mimicry, and delayed development. By 1907, two hostile factions had formed among the Mánes Association, and several artists officially broke their ties with Mánes to form their own group, Osma [The Eight] (1907-1908). The group's members were primarily painters, including Emil Filla (1882-1953) and Bohumil Kubišta (1884-1918), who would later develop their own variant of Cubist painting, eventually dubbed "Cubo-Expressionism."[39] However, the group also included four German-Bohemian and German-Jewish artists, demonstrating that creating a specifically Czech national visual identity for the modern age was not a central concern to this group. In fact, Max Brod published a review of Osma's first exhibition in *Die Gegenwart*, praising a "new era of Czech-German harmony."[40] The group was, however, largely ignored by the German press, and lambasted by the Czech press.[41]

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[38] The Mánes exhibitions were regularly reviewed in international journals, including *The Studio: An Illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Art* (1893-1964) in Great Britain.

[39] See Milena Lamarová, *Český kubistický interiér* (Prague: UPM, 1978); Marie Benešová, *Česká architektura v proměnách dvou století: 1780-1980* (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakl., 1984); and Miroslav Lamač, *Osma a Skupina výtvarných umělců 1907-1917* (Prague: Odeon, 1988).

[40] Max Brod, "Frühling in Prag," *Die Gegenwart* LXXI, no. 20 (1907): 316-317.

[41] See Nicholas Sawicki, "Becoming Modern: The Prague Eight and Modern Art, 1900-1910," (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2007): 194-214.

After only two exhibitions, Osma fell apart, and the Czech artists were absorbed back into Mánes, demonstrating "the salutary 'elasticity' of this older association, if also an indirect testimony to Czech separatism (the non-Czechs…now joined the VdbKiB)."[42] However, the Czech Osma artists would fuel the Mánes schism further in 1911 with the founding of the Skupina výtvarných umělců (SVU) [Group of Fine Artists] (1911-1914).[43]

It was within this political and cultural climate that modern Czech applied arts were born and the group Artěl formed. Influenced by the aesthetics and philosophy espoused in the late-nineteenth century by William Morris and John Ruskin—that is, to bring artistic craftsmanship to industrially-manufactured products and make them affordable for the average citizen—Czech applied artists at the turn of the century were also inspired by the Czech National Revival movement and the ever-growing sense of pride and inspiration in their Czech identity. While conservatives among the Czech nationalists focused entirely on local traditions and Slavic heritage, the more cosmopolitan, modern Czechs sought a place for the Czech nation among other European states and looked to international trends in art, architecture, and literature, especially those of France. Artěl achieved a balance between these two poles, both demonstrating an engagement with transnational modernity and fostering a nationalist cultural identity through the adaptation of folk culture to modern design.

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[42] Clegg, 120.

[43] For more on the SVU, see Chapter 2.

Debates on the Question of a National Art

Before a more thorough introduction to the group Artěl, it is important to elucidate the Czech debates around the idea of a national art at the beginning of the twentieth century. The narrative of a rift between opposing theoretical perspectives prevails in Czech modern art historiography, pitting early-twentieth-century artists who sought a purity of form and theory against those who found inspiration for the new art in folk traditions. Lada Hubatová-Vačková disproves this dichotomy—set up by artists in the 1910s and most scholars since—of conservative nationalists, traditional crafts, and decorative arts versus innovative cosmopolitans, industrial standard production, and purity of form.[44] She argues instead that folk art is a "direct model for modernist tendencies:"

> Czech distinctiveness and the revival of folk forms cannot be perceived merely in connection with the conservative, nationalistically-tinged traditionalism presented at the world exhibition in Paris. The links to folk models, peasant rusticity, simple functionality and aversion to quasi-historical canonized styles meant that folklore and folk art had in many cases a purifying role in the path toward modernism.[45]

Artěl's output over the course of its development is a perfect embodiment of Hubatová-Vačková's interpretation of the role of folk art in modernism across Europe. Even the Cubists' work for Artěl has its connections to folk architecture and decorative motifs. If one applies, as art historian Jindřich Vybíral does, Anna Freud's psychoanalytic typologies of defensive mechanisms to Czech art, Artěl's founding

[44] Hubatová-Vačková, "Art of the People and Art for the People," 247-249.

[45] *Ibid*, 257.

mission takes a compensatory approach to the question of a national art.[46] "Compensatory narratives stress the force of the environment and local traditions as essentially modifying external influences."[47] Indeed, art historian and Artěl founder Václav Vilém Štech (1885-1974) wrote in his 1916 article "On the National Art," "The land, like a giant mold, encompassed and enveloped all foreigners who ever worked and lived in it, and formed them into a nation, giving their work higher justification in the needs and ideals of the whole."[48] An authentic and distinctive representation of the culture and history of the nation had more political power and social purpose in Czech modern art than it did for similar applied artist groups in Vienna and Western Europe.

The conversation on what constitutes national art and whether or not it should be a goal of Czech artists began before the turn of the century. In the 1880s, the Czech art historian Myroslav Tyrš (1832-1884)[49] understood "the History of Art as inseparable from nationhood, which is its inspirational source and sole recipient.

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[46] Jindřich Vybíral, "What is Czech in Czech Art in Bohemia? Alfred Woltmann and Defensive Mechanisms of Czech Artistic Historiography," *Kunstchronik* LIX, no. 1 (2006): 1-7. Vybíral bases his analysis of Czech artists' reactions to Alfred Woltmann's 1876 lecture, "German Art in Prague," in which he asserted that the artistic character of Prague was almost exclusively the work of German artists or the result of German influences, on Anna Freud's *The Ego and Mechanisms of Defense* (Vienna: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag 1936).

[47] Vybíral, 5. Compensation is one of seven reactions outlined by Anna Freud and used by Vybíral to analyze the frustrations Czechs felt in the early-twentieth century as subjects to a foreign crown and foreign elite. Other reactions include aggression, escape into fantasy, dismissal, repression, rationalization, and self-criticism.

[48] All translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own. V. V. Štech, "O Národní umění [On the National Art]," (1916).

[49] Tyrš was born Friedrich Tiersch to a Bohemian German father but orphaned and raised by a Czech uncle. After his university studies, he "Czech-ified" his name and devoted himself to the Czech national cause, becoming the first Czech professor of art history in 1883.

According to him, the History of Art must provide a theoretical basis for the development of national Art."[50] By 1900, the call for a contemporary Czech national art was widespread. Jan Kotěra, a founder of Mánes and one of its most influential and active members, contributed an article to *Volné směry* calling for the discovery and realization of a distinctively Czech form of modern architectural style, encouraging architects to express in the "New Art" what is Czech within themselves.[51] He discusses the natural expression of identity through architecture, based on local conditions, materials, and needs, as well as the ongoing project to design for emerging tasks and needs of the new age (e.g. railway stations, other transport facilities, parliaments and administrative buildings, etc.). He described late-nineteenth-century architecture as a time of transition during which "the emerging apostles—Schinkel, Hansen, Semper, and Schmidt—took the foundation of a pre-existing form, often in quite different places, and forced new tasks and new constructions into it. Others retained the place (the revival of the "old national architectures"), and they were only the old form of the past."[52] Kotěra concludes:

> The locality (local character) of the origin of art and the personality of the artist are a form of accent. The common education, the common culture of most nations in recent times […] exclude the possibility that one of the peoples could develop its own art. Motives, and therefore the shapes, will be the same—only the method of expression will bear the national character. Wishing for a national awakening only with copies on the basis of tradition and new combinations is just like any form of utopia, and such an effort will have the character of dilettantism in the form of its starting point […]. My

[50] Jan Bažant, "Nation and Art: From Myroslav Tyrš to Max Dvořák, and Back," *Ars* 44, no. 1 (2011): 15.

[51] Jan Kotěra, "O novém umění [On the New Art]," *Volné směry* IV, no. 6 (1900): 189-195. Kotěra is considered the founder of Czech modern architecture.

[52] *Ibid*, 192.

> artistic work and some reproductions published here cannot be considered as the full result of ideas [yet]. The forces are always lagging behind the will.[53]

Most of the Czech art community in Prague undoubtedly read Kotěra's call to create a national modern art. The reproductions to which he refers include bridge designs by his student, as well as images of his own recent works **[FIGURE 5]**. The architectural details of doorways and a chandelier exhibit the turn-of-the-century Viennese style made popular by Kotěra's professor, Otto Wagner (1841-1918). Indeed, the force of nationalism lags behind Kotěra's will, as there is no apparent signal of the artist's Czech origins in these published examples. His villas two years later, however, show the impact of his engagement with local character on his formal experiments and choice of materials **[FIGURES 6-11]**.[54] He adapted the traditional Czech cottage **[FIGURE 19]** to modern needs with regard to layout and facilities, retaining the traditional timber gable, half-hipped roof, and carved and painted wooden decoration on the façade, as well as on interior woodwork and ceilings.

Another strong voice on nationalism was neoimpressionist painter Miloš Jiránek (1875-1911), who described the Russian reception of the Czech section of an Austrian art exhibition in St. Petersburg in 1899: the locals compared the paintings on display to those produced by France, Britain, and the Netherlands; however, they were excited by Vojtěch Hynais's poster for the 1895 Ethnographic Exhibition **[FIGURE 12]**.[55] Jiránek takes this as a lesson: "it is clear that our art can make an

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[53] *Ibid*, 195.

[54] Published in *Volné směry* VIII (1904): 257-262.

[55] Miloš Jiránek, "Českost našeho umění [The Czechness of our Art]," *Radikální listy* 7, no. 4 (1900); translated in *Between Worlds: A Sourcebook of Central European Avant-gardes, 1910-1930*, edited by Timothy O. Benson and Éva Forgács, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002): 56-57.

impact and attract interest abroad only when it is distinctively Czech…Let us ask: have we ever had such art, and do we have it now?" Analyzing some of the great Czech painters of the late nineteenth century, Mikoláš Aleš (1852-1913) and Josef Mánes (1820-1871), who captured the "soft, lyrical soul of Slavic dreamers" and "all that was good about Czech country life: a world now entirely lost," Jiránek concluded that "Czech life developed too quickly…lost its distinctive external characteristics" and "our [future] distinctiveness will not be manifested externally in different customs or costumes…the difference will be of an inner nature, a difference of race." His article is a call to arms for young Czech artists to express in a contemporary context what is inherently Czech about Czech people, art, and life, but he does not try to define what that might be or look like. All he knows is that the Czech artist should:

> […] use not only external form from the past—for example folk embroidery or ornaments—but its real substance, the visual sense of Czech art inherited from old women of Slovak Moravia who decorated their porches with amazing instinct; he will use all the achievements of modern culture to create a strong sense of self and to apply forces inherent to his race, that beautiful race that survives in full strength because and as long as it is Slavic.[56]

This passage so clearly demonstrates the lack of specificity concerning Czech national identity and Pan-Slavic identity around the turn of the century. What is Czech about a Slovak Moravian, if the Čech tribe settled in Bohemia? What is Czech distinctiveness, if what defines the Czech core is its Slavic character? For Artěl artists, authenticity of ethnographic distinctions was not of great concern. Instead,

[56] *Ibid*, 57.

they would construct a new visual expression of what it means to be Czech and modern.

F.X. Šalda delivered a talk on "The Problem of Nationality in Art" in the 1903 Mánes lecture series, which was published subsequently in *Volné směry*.[57] Again, vague slogans prevail—the lecture was more a poetic call to arms than a substantive understanding of what might be distinctively Czech about Czech art beyond its subject matter. At his dramatic peak, Šalda proclaims: "The question of nationality to the artist must always be a question of his inner strength and potency, the great, decisive foundation of his being, his metaphysical and religious relationship and the relationship to life, after the dramatic end of his hope. It is always a question of poetry or artistic heroism."[58] His speech is peppered with constructions such as "heroic will," "national self-confidence," and "manifestation of the cultural heartbeat." He does distinguish between two directions or paths of growth of the national soul—one path negative, a "great cleansing of anger and mistreatment, punishing its [the national soul] faintness, limitation and smallness;" and the other positive, recognizing national virtues, dramatizing them and "thereby forcing the nation to express the most hidden powers and the highest possibilities."[59]

Nearly a decade after Jiránek's and Šalda's calls for a Czech national art, artist Bohumil Kubišta (1884-1918) writes that "in our time, manifestations of national

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[57] F.X. Šalda, "Problém národnosti v umění [The Problem of Nationality in Art]," *Volné směry* 8 (1904): 3-11.

[58] *Ibid*, 8.

[59] *Ibid*, 7.

character have been elevated to the foremost criterion by which a work of art is assessed: yet no one has clearly formulated what exactly national art might be—what its properties are and what critical methods might be derived from such a concept."[60] Kubišta ridicules what he believed was a widely-held notion that "Mánes is a great artist because he is Czech," and goes on to say that what was best about Mánes's work was his near-mastery of French conventions of form and what he brought from France to "a young Czech art."[61] Kubišta warns of the danger of entirely abandoning critical analysis when nationalistic concerns begin to cloud one's judgment: "Until there is a critic who can properly elucidate Mánes's place not only in Czech art but in the context of wider developments, the conditions of this specific development will remain unclear and fair-minded efforts to analyze Mánes's work will be forsaken in the name of general support for Czech art."[62] What Jiránek, Šalda, and Kubišta share is a concern for art criticism that looks beyond the subject. For, as soon as national character becomes a standard by which to measure art, critics and art audiences tend to lose sight of the formal qualities, which Jiránek, Šalda, and Kubišta believed could better express the Czech distinctiveness of the modern era than any subject matter.

Writer, critic, and playwright Karel Čapek (1890-1938) takes the question of representing national identity through the arts in a new direction in 1913. He identifies two tendencies in the development of Czech art: on one hand, it is

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[60] Bohumil Kubišta, "Výstava Josefa Mánesa v Topičově salonu [Josef Mánes Exhibition at the Topič Salon]," *Přehled* 9, no. 25 (1911); translated in Timothy O. Benson: 57-58.

[61] *Ibid*, 58.

[62] *Ibid.*

nationalistic and "serves the cultural will of the nation;" and, on the other hand, it is in "usually slightly delayed alignment with the developmental processes of European art."[63] While Čapek does not consider these two tendencies necessarily contradictory, he discusses how they were driven into contradiction in the first decade of the twentieth century. He asks, "where would one find a pure domestic tradition for Czech regional art?" Čapek questions the authenticity of folk art, pointing out that "our folk art is not as old and original as it is commonly believed" and making comparisons between Czech folk arts and eighteenth-century Rococo art, which he argues Czech peasants adapted from the German nobility. He complains that those searching for Czech national identity in the past are still looking for the "original Czech brethren, as if the oldest remnants of nature and the darkest memories are the most valuable and the most national."[64] Čapek calls for a new approach to visualizing a national identity in the arts—one that focuses not on the past, but on the contemporary Czech nation: its "industry, science, participation in all the advances of Europe, a love for new ideas and new art […] a nation finding its ultimate freedom, not in following humanity, but leading it."[65] This approach would prove predominant across the visual arts in Prague and among Artěl artists in the postwar years, after the creation of the First Czechoslovak Republic.

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[63] Karel Čapek, "Otázka národního umění [The Question of National Art]," *Volné směry* 17 (1913): 160-162.

[64] *Ibid*, 161-162.

[65] *Ibid*, 162.

Karel Teige (1900-1951), a prominent artist and critic in the 1920s and 1930s was the first art historian of the pre-First-World War modern movements in Czech architecture. He published *Modern Architecture in Czechoslovakia* in 1930, at a time when what would become known as the International Style had long-replaced the pre-WWI Cubism and postwar "nationalist decorativism"[66] or "Rondocubism."[67] Teige, one of the leading innovators of his generation, denigrated the older generation, especially Pavel Janák (1882-1956), Vlastislav Hofman, and Josef Gočár (1880-1945), for their disregard of "any functional or rational preconditions in architecture,"[68] the "hollow aestheticism and formalism"[69] of their Cubist work, and the "antiquarian traditionalism" and nationalism of their postwar "façadism."[70] One of the main reasons for Teige's contempt of the older generation was what he deemed their postwar descent into "delusional" and "tasteless" nationalism, as "Cubist architecture suddenly became not sufficiently 'Czech' or 'Slavic.'"[71] Calling out Janák, Gočár, František Kysela (1881-1941), and Štech, Teige excoriates their attempts to resurrect the national style of the turn of the century:

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[66] Karel Teige, *Modern Architecture in Czechoslovakia and Other Writings*, (1930), translated by Irena Žantovská Murray and David Britt (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2000): 156.

[67] Marie Benešová, "Rondokubismus," *Architektura ČSSR* 28 (1969): 303-317. Benešova coined the new term to replace the dismissive use of "decorativism" for the state-supported style of the postwar period.

[68] Teige, 148.

[69] *Ibid*, 149.

[70] *Ibid*, 154. Indeed, Pavel Janák wrote an article, "Obnova průčelí [Renewal of the Façade]," *Umělecký měsíčník* 2, no. 3 (1913): 86, in which he theorized that the façade is the most important vehicle through which people experience architecture, and thus should be the primary conveyor of the architect's artistic spirit.

[71] *Ibid*, 153.

> Their efforts to create a new national architectural style were based on old delusions; later these led to new delusions. Elements of nationalist, ornamental, and decorative style were artificially revived. Although this new style was not mimetic in the same way as the earlier folkloristic fashions but instead attempted new forms based on popular ornaments, it nevertheless achieved monstrously decorative, national forms.[72]

Teige cannot hide his utter disdain for the older generation's assaults on architectural progress, which "threatened to impede cultural evolution," and "polluted" Czech cities.[73] Teige explains how the era of "meaningless and reactionary cultural slogans" "ended in utter fiasco:"

> Quite naturally, normal conditions began to prevail after the war; it was not possible during a period of active international contacts to maintain a distinctive and "unique" national style. The links to Czech, Slovak, and Moravian folk art—by nature plainer and decorated in a naturalist manner—led to contourless and planimetric architectural form. Architecture succumbed to a "unique" period of tastelessness.[74]

Teige saw absolutely no merit in the immediate postwar period's attention to establishing a modern Czechoslovak identity to present to the rest of the world. Teige's searing critiques of Czech modernism prior to the mid-1920s established and ordained the still persistent narrative of a dichotomy in Czech modern architecture and design between traditionalism and nationalism on the one hand, and avant-garde internationalism on the other.

While the two supposedly opposed paths of modernism—one decorative, conservative, and nationalist, and one purist, innovative, and international—were not

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[72] *Ibid.*

[73] *Ibid*, 155.

[74] *Ibid*, 154.

codified by art critics until the mid-1920s, the conversation began by the turn-of-the-century among the young Czech avant-garde artists who split from the academy and took part in the various modern artist collectives. As the writings and activities of Czech modern artists and critics at the time suggest, the dichotomy was not as stark as much of Czech art historiography since may indicate. The members and stylistic variances of Artěl, in particular, demonstrate that the avant-garde, especially within the applied arts and architecture, could invent a new Czech visual identity that was both national and modern. More analysis of Artěl's engagement with the ideas surrounding modernism and nationalism set forth by art critics and avant-garde artists working in Prague in the early twentieth century will follow an interlude discussion of the developments in Czech art historiography and the question of a national art since Teige.

The cataclysm of the Second World War—beginning with Nazi occupation and the end of the First Czechoslovak Republic in 1938 and ending with liberation by the Soviet Red Army in 1945—and the ensuing Cold War years, when Czechoslovakia become a Socialist Republic (1948-1990) under strong Soviet influence (and occasional force), would have significant impacts on Czech scholarship, artistic production, and cultural institutions. The absolute power of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia meant that avant-garde, progressive ideas and international influences became deeply suspect and threatening to the government's authority. Czechoslovakia shifted its political, social, and cultural orientation from Western Europe to Moscow, and travel or study outside of the Soviet Union and its satellite republics became almost impossible. Socialist Realism in the arts was

encouraged, and avant-garde, experimental, or activist art was censored to different degrees of intensity in Czechoslovakia across the second half of the twentieth century. Before turning to focus on Artěl and the group's responses to the debates around the idea of a national art outlined above, it is worth evaluating how the subject of modern art and nationalism has been treated in art historiography since 1989.

Nationalism and Czech Modernism in Scholarship since 1989

Scholarship on the avant-garde after 1948 was largely discouraged for ideological reasons in communist Czechoslovakia. Strong nationalism among any individual ethnic groups was seen as a potential threat to Soviet influence, and a broader proletarian internationalism was encouraged within the Soviet Union and its satellites. This political context, in combination with Teige's discrediting of the early-twentieth-century avant-garde resulted in a long hiatus in the scholarly conversation on the role of nationalism in the development of a Czech modern art. Marie Benešová (1920-2007), a professor of art and architectural history at the Czech Technical University in Prague, wrote the first monographs on Josef Gočár and Pavel Janák in the late 1950s and a couple of surveys of Czech and Czechoslovak architectural history over the course of her career; however, she did not address this topic. For scholars outside the USSR and its satellites, writing about Czech culture during this time would have been not only ideologically difficult, but scholars did not have the freedom of travel to access international archival material.

In the 1990s, after the fall of communism and the "Velvet Divorce" of the Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1993, art historians in Central and Eastern Europe

began a long process of "filling in the blanks" in their national art histories, especially with regard to the early-twentieth-century modernist movements. Vojtěch Lahoda edited a volume of papers published after a conference held in 2003, organized by the Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences and the New York University in Prague.[75] The conference, "Local Strategies, International Ambitions: Modern Art in Central Europe, 1918-1968," strove "to explore the status of Modernism and Avant-garde art in Central Europe" within the context of "questions of identity, regionalism and the interaction between the centre and the periphery, as well as with the problem of local centres (cities, art groups and institutions) and of local 'isms.'"[76] In his own talk given at the conference, Lahoda emphasized the characteristic of "local spirit" in modern art of the peripheries, such as that in the Czech Lands, as a distinguishing cultural feature of Central European modernism.[77] In his analysis of the meaning(s) of such terms as "Central Europe" and "Eastern Europe," he writes:

> If one says that he or she belongs to the tradition of Central European modern art, one does more than simply locate the artist. However, all examples of Central European modern art have to be clarified and interpreted according to a specific frame. And the framing is in each case new, a creative process on the part of the art historian. The framing should be formed according to 'local spirits.'[78]

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[75] Vojtěch Lahoda, ed., *Local Strategies, International Ambitions: Modern Art and Central Europe, 1918-1968*, Papers from the International Conference, Prague, 11-14 June, 2003.

[76] *Ibid*, 7.

[77] Vojtěch Lahoda, "Global Form, Local Spirit: Czech and Central European Modern Art," in *Local Strategies, International Ambitions: Modern Art and Central Europe, 1918-1968*, edited by Vojtěch Lahoda, Papers from the International Conference, Prague, 11-14 June, 2003, 9-20.

[78] *Ibid*, 18.

Unlike modern movements in France or Germany, for example, Lahoda argues that in Central Europe "there is a more-or-less positive attitude toward tradition and toward the past—culturally-speaking—that indicates a certain subtle respect for tradition, the past and the 'symbolic centres' of history. Generally, this attitude, which I would call 'poetical remembrance,' is characterized by respect for tradition and the values of the past."[79] Lahoda has explored these questions and methodology further in his subsequent scholarship.[80] Efforts to fill in the blanks have only intensified in the years since the 2003 conference, and they appear to be ongoing, with the publication of many recent monographs and well-funded exhibitions and studies of modernism in Central and Eastern European countries.[81]

Lahoda and other speakers at the 2003 conference in Prague discussed issues of conducting art historical scholarship within the context of globalization and internationalization for countries that had only recently become open to this political structure. Lahoda argues that the tendency among former Soviet republics and former Soviet satellites to emphasize studies and questions of national cultural heritage, "was not due to increasing nationalism, but rather due to an awareness of the extensive

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[79] *Ibid*, 19.

[80] Vojtěch Lahoda, "Searching for a 'Democratic Shape' in Czech Modernism at the Beginning of the 1920s," *Centropa* 8, no. 1 (2008): 26-35.

[81] In the Czech context, see for example Iva Knobloch and Radim Vondráček, eds., *Design v českých zemích, 1900-2000: instituce moderního designu* (Prague: Academia and UPM, 2016); Lucie Vlčková, ed., *Antonín Kybal* (Prague: Kant, 2016); Lucie Vlčková and Radim Vondráček, eds. *Secese: Vitální umění 1900 ze sbírek Uměleckoprůmyslového Musea v Praze* [*Secession: Vital Art Nouveau 1900 from the collection of the Museum of Applied Arts in Prague*] (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2013); Norbert Kiesling, *Pavel Janák* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2011); and Mahulena Nešlehová, ed., *Vlastislav Hofman* (Prague: Společnost Vlastislava Hofmana, 2005).

gaps and untreated areas…"[82] There is, however, a sense of territorialism among scholars engaged in this project. A Czech or Hungarian scholar understandably tends to feel a sense of ownership over his or her own history, but this leads to distrust between scholars and a reluctance to encourage or support the addition of outsiders' perspectives to one's own national history.[83] With the resurgence of nationalism across Europe in recent years, Lahoda's argument may no longer stand, but this remains to be seen. Lahoda rightly argues that the "filling in of the blank spots of Czech [and other Central and Eastern European] art history cannot end simply with a Czech-language publication; it is necessary to seek out possibilities to present meaningful projects, particularly in Western languages."[84] Language barriers continue to present a huge challenge to scholarship in Central and Eastern European art history and other histories of artistic peripheries around the world. While it is difficult for scholars who are outsiders to read the scholarship of a particular nation, publishing research in

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[82] Lahoda, "Global Form, Local Spirit," 9.

[83] I have encountered this resistance during my graduate studies upon reaching out to scholars in Central and Eastern Europe. Once I was dismissed by a Hungarian scholar who told me that it is "a nearly impossible task" (even for a graduate seminar paper) to write about Hungarian modernism without fluency in Hungarian, nor without traveling to archives in Budapest. While it was difficult to find much scholarship on Hungarian art in Western European languages at the time, this reaction demonstrates the desire among Central and Eastern European scholars to write their own history. A decade since this exchange, archives and libraries in the region are beginning to digitize their collections and make them available online, such as the Digitální knihovna of the Knihovna Západočeského muzea v Plnzi and the Moravaská zemská knihovna; theses are made open-access by Czech universities; early-twentieth-century journals and texts have been digitized and made available by American institutions, such as the Princeton University's Blue Mountain Project (*Volné směry* (1896-1902) and *Umělecký měsíčník* (1911-1914) and the New York Public Library Digital Collections (*Umělecký měsíčník* (1911-1913), *Devětsil* (1922), *Žijeme* (1932-1933), and *Magazin DP* (1933-1937)); and many state-supported publications by museums and art institutions have received the funding to publish their scholarly projects in international languages.

[84] Lahoda, "Global Form, Local Spirit," 15.

multiple regional and international languages requires many more resources than most institutions can afford. Within Central and Eastern Europe, language barriers can even prevent scholars from achieving a rich contextualization of their own nation's art within the broader region. This means that studies of Czech art, for example, emphasize international connections with French, German, and British artistic movements—nations where scholarship is written in more widely-spoken languages among Czech scholars—more than with Polish, Hungarian, Baltic or southern Slavic neighbors.

Steven A. Mansbach was among the first American scholars to present the art history of Central and Eastern European modernism to English-speaking audiences. As Lahoda points out, when Mansbach wrote *Modern Art in Eastern Europe from the Baltic to the Balkans, 1890-1939* (1999), the bibliography reflects only four references for "General Recent Sources in Western Languages" on modern art of the Czech Lands—two in German and two in English.[85] Several Western European and American scholars soon published additional well-known texts on the region's art—projects which put the art of the various nations in conversation with each other, and which highlight the role of nationalism in the development of local modernisms in the region. Timothy O. Benson's 2002 exhibition at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and the accompanying catalogue and anthology of translated primary sources highlights the artistic centers across Central Europe as "sites of exchange and transformation" between 1910 and 1930. Elizabeth Clegg's *Art, Design, and*

[85] Steven A. Mansbach, *Modern Art in Eastern Europe from the Baltic to the Balkans, 1890-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 359.

Architecture in Central Europe, 1890-1920 is an in-depth thematic survey of the modernist developments across the capital cities of the provinces of the Dual Monarchy. Her focus on the exchanges between artist collectives, especially through the international circulation of multilingual arts journals and international exhibitions in the region, provides an understanding of how international these Central and Eastern European centers of artistic activity were on the "periphery" of European modernist movements. Anthony Alofsin wrote a survey of modern architecture in Central Europe in 2006, *When Buildings Speak: Architecture as Language in the Habsburg Empire and its Aftermath (1867-1933)*, which was subsequently published in a German-language edition.[86] These publications served to open American eyes to a whole new world of modern art history in Europe, encouraging a new generation of graduate students to pursue specializations in this geographical region.

Emerging American scholars of Central and Eastern European modernism continue to engage deeply with the theme of nationalism in the construction of modern art in the region. Naomi Hume's scholarship focuses on the artistic journals in Prague that facilitated the creation of a national culture for the twentieth century.[87] Karla Huebner's research investigates the attempts made by the Czech avant-garde to create one national identity for the multinational First Czechoslovak Republic.[88] Also

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[86] Anthony Alofsin, *When Buildings Speak: Architecture as Language in the Habsburg Empire and its Aftermath, 1867-1933* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

[87] For example, Naomi Hume, "Monumental and Czech: *Umělecký Měsíčník* [*Art Monthly*], Graphic Art, and the Creation of a National Culture," *Centropa* 4, no. 1 (2004): 48-63.

[88] For example, Karla Huebner, "Inter-War Czech Women's Magazines: Constructing Gender, Consumer Culture and Identity in Central Europe," in *Women in Magazines: Research, Representation, Production and Consumption*, edited by Rachel Ritchie, Sue Hawkins, et al. (New York: Routledge, 2016): 66-80.

focusing on print media, especially popular women's journals, Huebner demonstrates how nationalism in the First Republic was a cosmopolitan, urban, and specifically Bohemian construct.

As more opportunities arise for Czechs to receive academic posts abroad, if desired, more scholarship by Czech art historians has appeared in Western European languages. Jindřich Toman's tenure as a Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Michigan, for example, gave rise to the publication of a Czech and English dual-language series on *The Modern Czech Book*.[89] Marta Filipová's scholarship over the past decade, from her dissertation written at the University of Glasgow across her work as a professor of History at the University of Birmingham, has focused almost exclusively on the complex role of nationalism and the vernacular in the development of Czech modern art.[90]

Other crucial venues for scholarship on Czech and Slovak modernism for English-speaking audiences include the American journal *Centropa* (2001-2015), the multi-lingual Czech journal *Umění* (1994-present) from the Institute of Art History in

[89] Jindřich Toman, *Czech Cubism and the Book*, vol. 1 (Prague: Kant, 2004); Jindřich Toman, *Photo/Montage in Print*, vol. 2 (Prague: Kant, 2009); and Alena Pomajzlová, *Seeing the Book: The Book Design of Josef Čapek*, vol. 3 (Prague, Kant, 2010). Two additional planned volumes were never published.

[90] See Marta Filipová, "The Construction of National Identity in the Historiography of Czech Art," (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2008); "Peasants on Display: The Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition of 1895," *Journal of Design History* 24, no. 1 (2011): 15-36; "Between East and West: The Vienna School and the Idea of Czechoslovak Art." *Journal of Art Historiography*, no. 8 (2013): 1–18; "National Treasure or a Redundant Relic: The Roles of the Vernacular in Czech Art." *RIHA Journal* 1 (2013): 591–619; "Czech Glass or Bohemian Crystal? The Nationality of Design in the Czech Context." In *Designing Worlds: National Design Histories in an Age of Globalization*, edited by Kjetil Fallan and Grace Lees-Maffei, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016): 141-155; and *Modernity, History, and Politics in Czech Art* (New York: Routledge, 2020).

the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic,[91] and the multi-lingual Slovak journal *ARS* from the Institute of Art History in the Slovak Academy of Sciences.[92] *Centropa* was the first English-language journal on Central and Eastern European modern applied arts and architecture, and it brought together an international editorial board and readership. The journal provided an opportunity for scholars from various geographical backgrounds to publish their research in English, offering some translation help for non-native English-speaking scholars. The construction of national identities across Central and Eastern Europe was a persistent theme of *Centropa* issues across its fifteen volumes. This put the art of the various nations in conversation with each other around such topics as graphic arts, museology, national monuments, art historiography, ceremonies and festivals, etc.

Artěl's Responses to Calls for a National Art

Returning now to the early-twentieth-century calls for a national art, Artěl's diverse array of products exhibit a range of responses to the call for a national modern style. Artists participating in the group before the First World War freely applied folk art motifs, not copying, but adapting and remixing. Emanuel Pelant (1871-?)—architect, Mánes member, and student of Jan Kotěra—likened this phenomenon in the visual arts to modern composers and the way they exploited local folkloric melodies

[91] *Umění* covers art history throughout time.

[92] *ARS* covers art history of all ages and geographical regions, but tends to focus on Central and Eastern European topics.

in their compositions.[93] After the war, in the first years of the First Czechoslovak Republic, Artěl artists codified folk-inspired ornament into an official state-supported style of Art Deco. Then, in the final phase of Artěl's development, its members distilled folk art to its essential, universal qualities in parallel with the principles of the International Style. Across this arc, one can also detect two central approaches to expressing what artists referred to in artistic journals at the time as "national distinctiveness."[94] In one faction, which will be referred to here as *folk modernism*, artists imbued traditional crafts with the stylistic qualities of modern art, while in the other faction, referred to here as *(trans)national modernism*, artists strove to create a distinctive new style within the formal language of international modernist movements that would represent Czech inventiveness and modernity, all while drawing upon Czech folk art and iconography.

Artěl's (Trans)national Modernism

The latter approach, which sought to revive Czech art through engagement with international styles, is represented by the small subset of Artěl's collaborators that has received the most consideration and exaltation by historians of Czech modern

[93] Emanuel Pelant, "Jak jsem vyučoval národnímu ornamentu, [How I Taught National Ornament]," *Náš směr* [*Our Direction*] II (1910-1911): 141-150. Quoted in Hubatová-Vačková, 250.

[94] This concept was often expressed using the words "svéráz" or "svéráznost," which can be translated as "individuality," "peculiarity," "singularity," or "distinctiveness." See Jiránek, "Českost našeho umění [The Czechness of our Art]," (1900), published in translation in Benson, 56-57; Čapek, "Otázka národního umění [The Question of National Art]," (1913); and Vlastislav Hofman, "O Svérázu," *Volné směry* 19 (1918): 228-229.

art. The ultramodern experiments with form exhibited in the early work for Artěl by architect-designers, such as Pavel Janák, Rudolf Stockar (1886-1957), and Vlastislav Hofman, contrasted sharply with the work of more conservative and traditional craftsmen and women of Artěl. At first glance, their designs may *appear* devoid of the folk character seen in much of Artěl's output; however, Czech Cubism was not entirely removed from Czech artistic traditions—a matter which is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2. These architects all studied at the Czech Technical University, as opposed to the School of Decorative Arts where the majority of Artěl's members trained.[95] They were inspired by avant-garde French and German painting and sculpture, which they saw during their studies and travels abroad, as well as in exhibitions held in Prague. They applied the French Cubists' faceted planes of two-dimensional forms to their three-dimensional utilitarian and decorative works, creating a style that has since been called Czech Cubism. Their designs often exhibited at the same time an Expressionist drama in their sharp angles and crystalline forms. This "Cubo-Expressionism" first emerged in painting and sculpture. Painters such as Emil Filla and Bohumil Kubišta were members of the avant-garde group Osma, who broke away from the Academy and the Mánes Association of Fine Artists to pursue the avant-garde styles of Expressionism and Cubism. They used elements of both to create a singularly Czech style. Some refer to these painters' style as Symbolist Cubism, highlighting the artists' quest for a modern

[95] The České vysoké učení technické v Praze (ČVUT) [Czech Technical University in Prague] was founded in 1707 by the order of Emperor Josef I as a secondary school of technical engineering. In 1806, it became the Prague Polytechnic school of higher technical education, and in 1863, it became a university with four schools: Mechanical Engineering, Chemistry, Civil Engineering, and Architecture.

form with spiritual content—a reconciliation between the French Cubists' concentration on formal questions and the German Expressionists' emotionality and spirituality.[96] The Artěl members who carried these experiments into the applied arts took the calculated approach of designing a modern Czech identity for the present and future, rather than attempting to salvage the Czech character of a shared past.

For these same artists after the First World War, the notion of "the spiritual" in Czech art began to take on a national dimension, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3. Artěl artists' style changed significantly from the Cubo-Expressionist prewar aesthetic to what has been dubbed "Rondocubism" or the "Czech national style."[97] The Czech Cubist architects turned their focus to creating a modern, but distinctively Czech architecture out of the traditional cityscape. The dramatic, expressionistic angles disappeared, and the designers introduced repetitive rounded forms with an overall aesthetic similar to international Art Deco trends, yet imbued with the visual character abstracted from both folk art and the Renaissance and Baroque architecture that permeated many Czech cities and towns **[FIGURES 1-2]**.

While these avant-garde designers have remained the most celebrated Artěl collaborators, they were only a small faction within the group. The largest proportion

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[96] See Pavel Liška, "Symbolist Cubism," in *Czech Cubism 1909-1925*, edited by Švestka, et al., 360-377.

[97] See Benešová, "Rondokubismus,"; Rostislav Švácha, *The Architecture of New Prague, 1895-1945* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995); Vendula Hnídková, "Rondocubism versus National Style," *RIHA Journal* 0011 (November 2010): http://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2010/hnidkova-rondocubism-versus-national-style, originally published as "Rondokubismus versus národní styl," in *Umění* 57, no. 1 (2010): 74–84.

of the cooperative's members fall into the second approach to blending modernism and folk traditions identified above, and thus should be seen as the core of Artěl.

Folk Modernism and the Designing Women of Artěl

In contrast to the formal experiments of the Cubist designers of Artěl, the rest of the group members tended toward the application of modernist stylistic elements to traditional craft forms, such as embroidered and woven fabrics and lace, or painted glass, wood, and ceramics. The majority of Artěl artists trained at Prague's School of Applied Arts, studying textiles, painting, ceramics, glass, or graphics. Unlike the cohort of all male avant-garde architects who trained exclusively at the then men-only Czech Technical University, a significant number of the rest of Artěl's artists were women, as the School of Applied Arts had opened its doors to women upon its founding in 1885. Thanks to this coeducational institution of artistic higher education and the Artěl cooperative's mission to resurrect the decorative arts, women artists, for the first time, played a vital role in Czech modern art.[98] Many handicrafts had long been equated with femininity and domesticity, as women were the primary weavers, embroiderers, and home decorators across Europe. Women's knowledge of folk patterns and techniques in traditional media was essential to Artěl's development,

[98] This was true of other similar collectives in Central Europe, as well. Women designers constituted half of the ten members of Wiener Kunst im Hause (1900-1904) and received the highest praise at exhibitions: Houze, "From *Wiener Kunst im Hause* to the Wiener Werkstätte," 14. Women were well-represented in the Wiener Werkstätte, with female participation achieving, at times, more than half the overall number of active designers: Werner J. Schweiger, *Meisterwerke der Wiener Werkstätte: Kunst und Handwerk* (Vienna: C. Brandstätter, 1990), dictionary of WW artists.

while their unprecedented participation in avant-garde art circles became a signal of Czech modernity after the War.

While women's access to higher education in the late-nineteenth century improved dramatically, women artists were limited primarily to craft schools rather than the fine arts academies or universities of architecture and industry. Two schools for higher education in the visual arts existed in Prague at the turn of the century—the Academy of Fine Arts and the School of Applied Arts.[99] At the Academy, which was founded nearly one hundred years earlier in 1799, studying there as a woman was almost unheard of until the 1920s. The School of Applied Arts opened its doors to women much earlier, from its founding in 1885; however, women students and teachers were restricted to traditionally feminine fields, such as decorative painting and embroidery, until the introduction of coeducation in 1919. The school regulated a separate and precisely defined women's sphere of creative activity, and thus constrained them to the role of second-class artists.[100] Much of the concern over integrating women into the same programs as men was purportedly about the indecency of allowing women to partake in nude drawing, a basic component of any introductory drawing courses. The studies for women were fundamentally different from those for men, as men were expected to become autonomous artists whose work would be in the public eye. Early women's school graduates generally accepted the

[99] Today, the School of Applied Arts is known as the Vysoká škola uměleckoprůmyslová v Praze (UMPRUM) [Academy of Arts, Architecture, and Design].

[100] Martina Pachmanová, *Neznámá území českého moderního umění: Pod lupou genderu [Unknown Territories of Czech Modern Art: Through the Looking Glass Gender],* (Prague: Argo, 2004): 33-35.

limitation that their training would be put to use only to improve their own homes and contribute to the spread of good taste in various women's educational institutions.[101]

Two early graduates of the School of Applied Arts, Helena Johnová and Marie Teinitzerová (1879-1960), constitute one quarter of the founding members of Artěl. At least 27 other women took part in the group, with an age range of 45 years between the oldest and youngest collaborators. The three generations of women in Artěl lived in rapidly changing social contexts, each one opening doors for the next. Some among the youngest generation of Artěl's women designers studied at the Academy of Fine Arts before or after attending the School of Applied Arts. Many would play prominent roles in the SČSD and the Krásná Jizba [The Beautiful Room] (1927-1948) modern design cooperatives of the late 1920s and 1930s. Some held teaching positions at the School of Applied Arts and institutions they founded themselves. Johnová became a professor at the School of Applied Arts in 1919, and Teinitzerová opened her own tapestry workshops for women in her hometown of Jindřichův Hradec, Bohemia.

Like women at the Bauhaus who were relegated to the weaving workshop, considered by the school's male figureheads to be the natural place for women, Czech women designers were also directed toward certain decorative media, such as textiles, glass painting, and figural ceramics, rather than furniture, metal, or architecture.[102] The

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[101] *Ibid.*

[102] Women applied to the Bauhaus in larger numbers than did men, but most were relegated to the weaving and ceramics workshops—trades considered suitable for women. Exceptions to this discrimination include Marianne Brandt (metal worker) and Florence Henri (photographer). Russian women, who had more representation in the state arts institutions since the mid-nineteenth century than did their counterparts in Central Europe, proved extremely important pioneers of the Russian avant-garde in the from the 1910s well into the 1930s, including Lyubov

School of Applied Arts' focus on the two-dimensional media of lace, embroidery, weaving, and decorative painting for women's courses reflects the contemporary view that women did not have a sufficiently-developed spatial imagination. These attitudes were explained in nineteenth-century scientific texts by biological and physiological conditions.[103] In the many cases that men contributed work in media deemed appropriate for women, their designs often pushed formal and stylistic boundaries more than the surviving examples of women's designs. While men, such as Josef Rosipal (1884-1914) and Vlastislav Hofman, created striking glassware and ceramics exhibiting the crystalline forms associated with Expressionism and Cubism **[FIGURES 13-14]**, women's contribution to glass and ceramics production was often decorative painting on traditional shapes or figurative sculpture **[FIGURES 15-17]**. Unlike the Wiener Werkstätte, in which there are several examples of collaborative designs between men and women artists working together in the workshops, there are fewer examples of joint ventures on specific products by Artěl. This is likely more a symptom of having no group studios or workshops than a deliberate avoidance of collaboration with women; however, it raises the question of how much closer Artěl might have remained to its original spirit of equity across all the crafts, had they opened collective workshops. There were, however, significant collaborative efforts between men and women designers who contributed elements to interior design commissions and group exhibition installations. Even in these instances of

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Popova, Olga Rozanova, Natalia Goncharova, and Varvara Stepanova. Within the circle of Artěl and the SCSD, Helena Johnová was appointed professor in 1919 at the School of Applied Arts in Prague, where she established the ceramics workshop.

[103] Carla Fehr, "Feminist Philosophy of Biology," in *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Biology*, edited by Michael Ruse (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008): 570-594.

partnership, the work of men and women nevertheless continued to be largely segregated by medium. However, some exceptional early experiments of women designers, which have gone unnoticed by historians throughout the twentieth century, are treated in the ensuing chapters.

Despite all the advances in women's equality during the early-twentieth century, the global economic depression of the 1930s and the Soviet-influenced Communist Party's rise to power in the 1940s halted that progress. Thus, women designers were never able to truly break free from the gendered boundaries of artistic production imposed during the first half of the twentieth century. Accepting the societal limitations within which women worked and by which their work was overlooked by historians later, there is still no doubt that their presence was impactful, both to their contemporaries and to the future of design. Their activities represent an important step in the artistic and social emancipation of Czech women. Women's participation in associations for arts and crafts cleared the path for growing employment possibilities as decorators and weavers in workshops and factories. It is here that this dissertation on the birth of modern Czech design takes on another restorative facet. Not only does it seek, in the name of a global history of art,[104] to restore to design history and to the history of modernism the dimension of Czech production and its role in international dialogues, but it also endeavors to restore to a global history of design the dimension of its many women contributors.

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[104] See Steven A. Mansbach, "The Artifice of Modern(ist) Art History," in *Exiles, Diasporas, and Strangers*, edited by Kobena Mercer (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008): 96-121; and James Elkins, ed., *Is Art History Global?* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

Chapter 1: Arts and Crafts: Selling Czech National Consciousness (1907-1910)

> The relationship between design and national identity is both extremely practical, concrete and material, and operates at the level of the public imaginary, myth and symbol.[105] –Kjetil Fallan and Grace Lees-Maffei (2016)

> We are no longer fighting for bare survival: we want more, and want to assume our appropriate position at the side of the most advanced nations.[106] –Karel B. Mádl (1883)

Interest in folk art in Bohemia grew alongside nationalist interests. After the partial abolition of serfdom in the Habsburg lands in 1781, the peasantry throughout Central and Eastern Europe developed a new sense of self across the nineteenth century. This socioeconomic shift, in combination with the influence of Johann Gottfried von Herder's ideas about a distinctive national character of individual nations, led to a reversal of thought about the origin of culture, such that, "without even having to overthrow the hierarchy, 'lowness'—regarded rather as 'otherness'—was newly seen to be endowed with the desirable characteristics of originality, naturalness and authenticity; characteristics not provided by universal tradition, but now sought after."[107] For Czechs and other Slavic nations within Austria-Hungary, this

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[105] Kjetil Fallan and Grace Lees-Maffei, "National Design Histories in an Age of Globalization," in *Designing Worlds: National Design Histories in an Age of Globalization*, edited by Kjetil Fallan and Grace Lees-Maffei (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016): 9.

[106] Karel B. Mádl, "Umění v Praze [Art in Prague]" in *Ruch* V (1883): 238.

[107] Pavla Machalíková, "'Whence come these terrible images…' How 19th Century Bohemia Began to Show an Interest in Folk Art and Popular Imagery," *Umění* LXIV, no. 6 (2016): 498. For a discussion of Herder's influence in Bohemia, see page 20 in the introductory chapter of this dissertation.

perspective had a positive correlation with the reawakening of national identity. The revival and elevation of Czech folk arts and culture could prove the longevity, authenticity, and originality of the Czech people in Bohemia—their roots far pre-dating those of the Habsburgs and Germans in the region.

Pan-Slavism and the Adaptation of Folk Arts for Modern, Urban Life

One of the first signals of a strong international reawakening of Slavic identity within the Habsburg Empire was the wave of revolts in 1848 that were part of a widespread movement for national autonomy within the Empire.[108] By forming an ideological alliance, referred to as Pan-Slavism, some Slavic peoples throughout Austria-Hungary began to pursue increased social and political autonomy based on national/linguistic affiliations across the second half of the nineteenth century.[109] Russians capitalized on pan-Slavic sentiment and ideals to great political effect during the Balkan wars of the 1870s to encourage Slavic populations to resist the competing, foreign imperial entities of the Ottoman Empire and the Dual Monarchy. Pan-Slavism in the Czech context fueled a defensive pan-German movement throughout Central Europe, where a large minority of ethnic Germans had lived in majority-Slavic lands for centuries. The first Pan-Slav Congress was held in Prague in

[108] The strongest revolt was that led by Hungarian nobles, crushed in 1849 by Austrian and Russian armies. Resistance to Austrian rule and demands for an independent Hungarian constitutional government and army led to the 1867 Compromise, which established the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary.

[109] Some Slavic nations, such as the Poles, rejected the pan-Slavic movement for its connections with Russia, whom Poles regarded as an enemy since Russia's late-eighteenth-century partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

1848, where František Palacký, author of *The History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia* (1836-1867) and first editor of the *Journal of the Bohemian Museum* (1825), called for Slavic autonomy within the Austrian Empire. After the Congress, "patriotic Czechs were roughly treated on suspicion of being pan-Slavs. Such petty persecutions not only helped to keep these ideas alive, but gave them a quality of national resistance."[110] In the period of Habsburg centralization and neo-absolutism in the 1850s, there were Habsburg attempts to impose Germanization, and "even the most minimal Czech language demands were flatly rejected."[111] By the 1860s and 1870s, however, when "the Czech provinces achieved by far the highest level of economic advancement in Central and Eastern Europe,"[112] the creation of the Dual Monarchy and liberal Austrian government in 1867 extended language rights to all the nationalities within the Monarchy. While pan-Slavic efforts remained largely unorganized across the second half of the nineteenth century, a combination of the codification of vernacular languages, increasing literacy, rapid industrialization and urbanization continuously fueled among the Slavic peoples within Austria-Hungary an increasing sense of the differences and inequities between Austro-German culture

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[110] John F. N. Bradley, *Czech Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984): 190.

[111] Ivan T. Berend, *History Derailed: Central and Eastern Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003): 104.

[112] *Ibid*. A chart included in Berend's book on page 179 shows the percentage of industrial versus agricultural occupations across Austria-Hungary by 1910. Within the Dual Monarchy, the Czechs were more industrial (51% of jobs) and less agricultural (34% of jobs) than Austrians (46% industrial laborers versus 35% agricultural laborers). Poles and Hungarians were around 63% agricultural versus 24% industrial, while regions further east (Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia and Dalmatia) saw industrial occupations at 10% or less of the working population.

and their own Slavic national identities, historical narratives, and socioeconomic status.

A consistent and popular effort in the name of Pan-Slavism was the rediscovery and mass display of folk cultures throughout Central and Eastern Europe. In Prague, this manifested most notably in the 1891 General Land Centennial Exhibition (also known as the 1891 Jubilee Exhibition) and the 1895 Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition. The General Land Centennial Exhibition was a World's Fair held on the purpose-built exhibition ground, Výstaviště Praha, featuring the Art Nouveau Industrial Palace, built by Bedřich Münzberger (1846-1928) **[FIGURE 18]**.[113] One of the more popular elements of the exposition was the Czech Cottage **[FIGURE 19]**, which depicted ancient rural life and its inhabitants as the locus of a long-standing national identity. The cottage was in fact a modern construction of Prague architect Antonín Wiehl, based on village architecture of northeastern Bohemia. Marta Filipová, who has published a great deal on the national expositions held in Prague in the 1890s, writes that the cottage "presented the country folk as curious, bizarre, and primitive while retaining the original forms of Czech cultural and artistic life."[114] For visitors to the Jubilee exhibition, largely inhabitants of its host city, this romanticized, eclectic version of traditional village architecture, filled with a hodge-podge of folk crafts from across Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and set amongst displays of the latest industrial and agricultural technology, would have

[113] The centennial marked the 100-year anniversary of the first industrial exhibition held in Prague in 1791 at the Klementinum.

[114] Marta Filipová, *Modernity, History, and Politics in Czech Art* (New York: Routledge, 2020): 61.

looked starkly different from the trappings of urban, modern life in Prague. However, the spectacle of the cottage and other exhibits of Czech and Slovak craftsmanship signaled a broader artistic, cultural, and political significance of the ethnographic collection and rediscovery of Czech national traditions.

The Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition's organizers "aimed to promote the idea of the ethnically unified, but at the same time regionally diverse, identity of the Czech-speaking people living in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia."[115] Indeed, the word "Czechoslavic" in the title of the exhibition was invented to draw a connection between the individual nation of the Czechs and the larger, pan-Slavic nation across Central and Eastern Europe. A contributor to the exhibition catalog wrote:

> It was the people of the humble Czech villages who rose up four and a half centuries ago to […] shake off the burden of foreign oppression from the homeland's shoulders. It was the same people […] who for hundreds of years carried not only their own language but also the customs and traditions of the ancestors to such an extent that this deprived and almost extinct nation could be awakened to a new life.[116]

Romantic nationalists of the late-nineteenth century saw peasants—largely untouched by industrialization, urbanization, and international media—as the guardians of national identity. Ethnographic study, preservation, and celebration of local peasant cultures thus was seen as a way to demonstrate the prehistoric, continuous nationhood of the people for the purposes of increasing national autonomy within Austria-

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115 Marta Filipová, "Peasants on Display: The Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition of 1895," *Journal of Design History* 24, no. 1 (2011): 15.

116 Lubor Niederle, "Byt lidu vesnického. Výstavní dědina [Rural Dwelling. Exhibition Village]," in *Národopisná výstava českoslovanská v Praze [Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition in Prague]*, edited by Emanuel Kovář (Prague: J. Otto, 1895): 97, translated in *ibid*.

Hungary. The extensive exhibition catalog includes sections on the geological history of the Czech Lands, anthropological studies of the Czech peoples, historical maps, typologies of regional architectures, and many images of their domestic architecture, housewares, and costumes **[FIGURE 20]**. The document also includes a short section titled "The Czech Woman" naming women in literature, music, and the arts, including the early Artěl associate artist, Zdeňka Braunerová (1858-1934).[117] These ethnographic expositions of historical and living folk culture selected elements of localized identities from across the area within the unofficial boundaries of the Czech Lands to re-present from that amalgamation a new Czech identity for the current era—a core practice of Artěl artists across their own development.

The Influence of the Arts & Crafts Movement in Bohemia

In addition to the growing sense of a reawakening of Czech national identity across the nineteenth century, a second important cultural movement helped set the stage for the formation of the Artěl group in Prague. The influential ideas of William Morris (1834-1896) and John Ruskin (1819-1900) proliferated across Europe in the decades on either side of the turn of the century through arts and literary magazines, artist collectives and their exhibitions, and the international movement of artists between artistic capitals throughout Europe, especially Paris, Munich, and Vienna. Central Europe's political and economic climate in the first decade of the twentieth

[117] František Cyril Vlk, "Česká žena [The Czech Woman]," in *Národopisná výstava Československá v Praze*, 485-486.

century was ripe for the reception of the Arts and Crafts movement. The negative effects of mass industrialization were palpable in Bohemia by the end of the nineteenth century. The first railroad track to connect Vienna and Prague was built in the 1840s. Between 1860 and 1880, industrial production accelerated drastically in the Czech Lands, supplying the Austrian crown with significant profits from exports in textiles, glass, paper, engineering, food (sugar refineries, large-scale breweries), and heavy industries (coal, iron, and steel). In the second half of the century, the majority of the rural population shifted to industry and became blue-collar workers, most in large factories.[118] The population growth in Bohemia increased from 0.5% to 2% annually during the nineteenth century.[119] The resulting overcrowded living conditions, the generally poor working conditions in factories, and decreasing quality of cheaper manufacturing methods were some of the many disruptions felt in the daily lives of people living through the extreme shift from an agrarian to modern, industrialized society.

Architects, designers, and artists sought to respond to the sweeping changes of the time through a complete transformation of the arts. Representatives from the School of Applied Arts in Prague attended the 1900 Paris International Exposition only to report their disappointment in the lack of modern applied arts at the show.[120] They declared among the pages of *Volné směry* their ongoing admiration for the

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[118] Berend, 181.

[119] *Ibid*, 215.

[120] Jindřich Vybíral, "The Reception of the Arts and Crafts Movement in Bohemia Around 1900," *Centropa* 4, no. 3 (2004): 222.

British Arts and Crafts movement—for its mission to ennoble society through the marriage of art and life, tradition and modernity.[121] Vlastislav Hofman's assessment in his 1918 article, "Kam směřuje Artěl? [Where is Artěl Headed?]," described the influence of the English Arts and Crafts movement on Artěl:

> What we have in mind is not just a luxury form, but a simple, practical form that would spread throughout the society of the democratic state. […] In fact, such a democracy of applied arts has long been proclaimed (albeit some time ago) by William Morris. He thought as an artist-individualist, though the word democracy was not commonplace for him, but to him it meant artistic renewal.[122]

The writings of Ruskin, published in fragmentary translations in *Volné směry* around the turn of the century, as well as full translated editions,[123] were also a source of inspiration for Czechs to rediscover their national artistic traditions, such as lacemaking, glass production, wood turning, and vernacular architecture, with modern eyes. Morris's artwork and numerous references to his writings and ideas were also published in *Volné směry*, as well as in *Typografia: časopis pro technické a*

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[121] For example, Arnošt Hofbauer, "Něco z moderního dekorativního umění [Some Modern Decorative Art]," *Volné směry* V (1901): 43-47; and Karel B. Mádl, "Výstava c.k. uměleckoprůmyslové školy pražské na světové výstavě v Paříži roku 1900 [The Exhibition of the k.k. School of Applied Arts in Prague at the International Exhibition in Paris in 1900]," *Volné směry* V (1901): 73-85.

[122] Vlastislav Hofman, "Kam směřuje Artěl? ["Where is Artěl Headed?"]," in *Jubilejní výstava umělecko-průmyslových prací Artěle* (exh. cat.) (Prague: Museum of Decorative Arts, 1918): unpaginated; translated in *Cubism, Constructivism, Form Art*, edited by Husslein-Arco, 68.

[123] For example, "Fragmenty z knih John Ruskina [Fragments from the Books of John Ruskin]," *Volné směry* III, no. 9-10 (1899): 479-484, 527-541; "Ze spisů Johna Ruskina [From the Writing of John Ruskin]," *Volné směry* IV, no. 6 (1900): 155, which include excerpts from "The Two Paths" (1859) and "Lectures on Art" (1858-1859) in Czech translation; and F. X. Šalda's translation of Ruskin's lectures, *Sézam a lilie* [Sesame and Lilies] (Prague: J. Otto, 1901).

společenské from 1903, *Zlatá Praha* from 1899, and *Osvěta: listy pro rozhled v umění, vědě, a politice* from 1884.

Jan Kotěra provided some of the first examples of the influence of the English Arts-and-Crafts movement on Czech architecture in his adaptations of the Czech country cottage to modern architectural needs. Villas he built in Prague in the first decade of the twentieth century, such as the Villa Trmal (1902-1903) **[FIGURES 6-11]**, exhibit his experiments with mixing traditional and new, local and foreign styles, features, and elements. The Villa Trmal is a collage of Slavic vernacular architecture, featuring a half-hipped roof with folk motifs carved into the wooden terrace and staircase railings. He further added on one end of the exterior a *lomenice*—the decorative wood paneling on the gable—common in Slovak folk architecture **[FIGURES 6 & 8]**. The three other exterior sides are adapted from English architecture, with dormer windows, exposed beams in the half-timber gables, and tall chimneys **[FIGURE 7]**. Inside, he adopts the English staircase-hall **[FIGURES 9-10]**, to which he would return repeatedly in his designs for family houses. Zdeněk Lukeš calls the Villa Trmal a "step back for Kotěra… It seemed as if the architect was too bound by convention, as if he had somehow returned to the look of Koula's "Czech cottage" from the 1891 Jubilee Exhibition **[FIGURE 19]**."[124] However, the adaptation of Czech folk art for modernity had not yet reached its peak in the arts at large in 1903. Applied artist groups Artěl and the Svaz Československého Díla would explore this avenue to its extremes for decades to come.

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[124] Zdeněk Lukeš, "The Early Works, 1898-1905," in *Jan Kotěra, 1871-1923: The Founder of Modern Czech Architecture*, edited by Vladimír Šlapeta (Prague: Kant, 2001): 106.

Moving forward, Kotěra continued to adapt English architecture to the traditional Czech family dwelling, abstracting the folk elements and blending disparate styles more harmoniously. This process of abstraction and remixing was part of a transitional moment of keen interest in folk interiors, which influenced the direction of Czech avant-garde applied arts. In fact, there are direct links between Kotěra and the members of Artěl,[125] and Kotěra participated in some of the group's activities in its early years from about 1911.[126] The artist circles around Kotěra began to cohere into applied artist collectives beginning with Artěl in 1908.

The Founding of Artěl

On a winter day in Prague in 1907, art historian Václav Vilém Štech (1885-1974) sat in the avant-garde Café Arco—a known hangout of artists and writers, such as Franz Kafka. He and his friend Alois Dyk (1881-1971) lamented the inability of Czech artists to create a business like the Wiener Werkstätte, which was by then four years old and well-known in Central European art circles. Štech recounted in his

[125] Kotěra taught at the School of Decorative Arts (1898-1910) and at the Prague Academy of Fine Arts (1910-1923), where many Artěl members studied. For example, Pavel Janák worked for Kotěra upon his return to Prague in 1908 after studying in Vienna with Kotěra's mentor Otto Wagner (1906-1908). Otakar Novotný (1880-1959) studied with Kotěra until 1903 and then worked in his studio. He also later published a monograph on Kotěra. Ladislav Machoň worked in Kotera's office 1909-1917. Jaromír Krejcar studied with Kotěra from 1917-1921 at Academy of Fine Arts. A member of Artěl during its later years, Bohuslav Fuchs (1895-1972) studied with Kotěra at the Academy (1916-1923) and worked in his studio until Kotěra's death in 1923. Most avant-garde artists and architects were members of the Mánes Association in Prague, including Kotěra and all listed in this footnote, except Krejcar.

[126] Jiří Fronek, "Artěl…jehož historie jest historií odvahy a průkopnictví [Artěl…whose history is a history of pioneering and courage]," in *Artěl: Umění pro všední den 1908-1935*, edited by Fronek, (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2009): 20. Kotěra designed a glass punch bowl and drinking glass set for the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904, which he reworked and exhibited with Artěl after 1910.

memoirs how he rushed Dyk to the home of the artist Vratislav Hugo Brunner (1886-1928) to show him some of Brunner's toy designs.[127] Brunner and Štech soon met with Helena Johnová, Jaroslav Benda (1882-1970), and Jan Konůpek (1883-1950) to discuss the need to establish a society that would aim to promote practical efforts for the applied arts.[128] From these encounters, a small association of artists was formed in 1908.

With financial backing from Dyk, seven young Czech designers, all disillusioned by cheap industrial products mass-manufactured by machines, founded the Artěl Studio for Creative Work. Founding members include painters Jaroslav Benda and Jan Konůpek; painter and graphic designer Vratislav Hugo Brunner; architects Pavel Janák and Otakar Vondráček (1879-1954); ceramicist Helena Johnová (1884-1962); and textile designer Marie Hoppe-Teinitzerová (1879-1960). They all signed a statement of their goals to combat factory models and substitutes for hand-crafted designs, to resurrect the decorative arts, and to put a sense of taste back into daily life **[FIGURE 21]**:

> Artěl, a studio for creative work, Prague, Kaprová 32.
>
> Our association formed to combat factory models and substitutes; we want to resurrect decorative art and put a sense of taste back into daily life. We see the value in every utilitarian object, and we aim to find for each the most useful material and most beautiful shape. We are beginning with small items—wooden toys, strings of glass beads, graphic works, painted boxes, textiles and ceramics; and we aspire to more complex tasks—furniture, bookbinding and illustration, clothing

[127] V. V. Štech, "Ze začátků Artěle [From the Beginning of Artěl]," *Výtvarné snahy* X, no. 6 (1918): 95.

[128] Vilém Dvořák, "Za V. H. Brunner," *Rozpravy Aventina* IV, no. 2 (1928): 11.

> and jewelry design, and, finally, entire designs for houses and interior furnishings—created through the collective effort of our workshop. Artěl will gain the people's confidence through the sincerity of our efforts and hard work. We gladly accept commissions, and, in an effort with those who share our view, we will help raise the decorative arts from their current standing.
>
> [signed] Prague, 1908. Jaroslav Benda, V. H. Brunner, Alois Dyk, Pavel Janák, Helena Johnová, Jan Konůpek, Marie Teinitzerová, Otakar Vondráček.

Their focus was on the design of decorative and utilitarian objects for use in the home—all crafts were to be seen as equally valuable.

Throughout its history, many other renowned modern Czech artists collaborated with Artěl, including: architects and furniture designers Vlastislav Hofman, Ladislav Machoň (1888-1973), Jaromír Krejcar (1895-1950), and Ladislav Sutnar (1897-1976); textile designers Jaroslava (Slávka) Vondráčková (1894-1986) and František Kysela (1881-1941); painters and toy designers Minka Podhajská (1881-1963) and Václav Špála (1885-1946); sculptors Jan Štursa (1880-1925) and Jaroslav Horejc (1886-1983); and glass designers Rudolf Stockar (1886-1957) and Josef Rosipal (1884-1914). Perhaps around 100 artists were affiliated with Artěl over the course of its existence.[129] Between its launch in 1908 and its bankruptcy in 1934,

[129] See appendix. This list includes any that have been named in consulted scholarship, but it is difficult to arrive at an accurate number. The loose organization of Artěl, its lack of workshop space, as well as the interconnectedness of many artists across multiple artist groups means that the degree of participation varies between the many artists who were in some way associated with Artěl across its existence. It is often difficult to determine whether or not a design was created for Artěl—if its maker designed the product to sell through Artěl or contributed their previous designs to the group's inventory. Some products have Artěl logos or have been documented in images of Artěl's exhibits and storefronts. This dissertation includes analysis of the broader artistic activity involving Artěl's associates, as well as their connections to other related groups and endeavors during Artěl's existence.

the group provided community to three generations of designers working in a wide range of media and styles. The search for a modern and distinctively Czech style remained central to Artěl's mission from its Arts-and-Crafts beginnings through Cubism to Art Deco and the International Style, but it manifested in the group's artistic output in a wide range of formal and stylistic experiments. Unlike most artists' organizations, there was never a rigid expectation among Artěl that collaborators adhere to one aesthetic. It is likely that the lack of organized workshops—that is a shared space in which artists worked together—allowed for the variety of the group's output. Most of its members were involved in other artistic organizations and endeavors, and Artěl always remained a relatively loose organization, offering exhibiting opportunities and a shared storefront.[130] In the pioneering beginnings of Czech modern design, Artěl was a central "meeting place between art, design, industry, and craft."[131]

Artěl's debut was an unconventional one—Brunner designed colorful gingerbread cookies to be sold at a local masquerade in February 1908 **[FIGURE 22]**. The group also set up booths at expositions to sell their products—mostly toys and souvenirs in the beginning. Unlike the Wiener Werkstätte, the Artěl association would never open workshops of its own, and relied instead on artists' production in their individual studios, as well as contracts with the Wiener Werkstätte and other

[130] See appendix for a list of other artist collectives that collaborated or exhibited with Artěl.

[131] Rebecca Bell, "Review of *Věci a slova: Umělecký průmysl, užité umění a design v české teorii a kritice 1870-1970: Things and Words: Art Industry, Applied Arts and Design in Czech Theory and Criticism 1870-1970*," *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 23, no. 2 (2016): 337.

groups who sold Artěl members' works on commission, and regional manufacturing companies, including Rýdl & Thon (Graniton) ceramics manufactory in Svijany-Podolí (northern Bohemia), and Arnošt Pryl Glasfabrik in Růženín (southeast of Prague). At 32 Kaprová Street, the founding members rented their first space located in the center of Prague's historic and architecturally-rich Old Town, just off the main square **[FIGURE 23]**. Looking toward one end of the street, there is a view of the Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque Prague Castle complex, while looking toward the other end, the Baroque spires of the cathedral of St. Nicholas foreground a view of the Gothic Church of Our Lady before Týn, once the stronghold of the reformist Hussites in the fifteenth-century battles against Catholics **[FIGURES 24-25]**. This central location, punctuated in every direction with the symbols and sites of all of Czech history, was perfectly suited to the group's nationalistic interests.

Brunner's choice to design gingerbread cookies, associated as they were with folk culture and women's work, highlights not only Artěl artists' radical desires in the beginning to break down the hierarchies between high and low art and gendered divisions of art and craft, but also its nationalistic spirit. In a deliberate attempt to distinguish themselves from Austro-German culture, many Slavic artists throughout the multiethnic Dual Monarchy in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries strove to cultivate and assert their national identities through the celebration of regional cultures and a revival of folk handicrafts. As industrialism and urbanization drastically changed Central European society, many urban nationalists looked to their native peasant populations for their cultural identity. In 1895, Prague's wildly popular Czech-Slavonic Ethnographic Exposition drew two million visitors to appreciate the

rich diversity of folk traditions native to Bohemia and Moravia **[FIGURE 12]**.[132] Many turn-of-the-century Czech artists, such as Jože Úprka (1861-1940), head of the Union of Moravian Fine Artists, were celebrated for their synthesis of modern decorative stylization with the themes of Czech folk life **[FIGURE 26]**. Ethnographic expeditions to remote villages were also popular among artists and architects from Germany to Russia around the turn of the century. Numerous Artěl artists traveled to small villages to study localized popular art throughout Habsburg Austria. In fact, many of the group's members originated from the Czech countryside and brought with them to Prague a diverse knowledge of regional folk styles and crafts **[FIGURE 27]**.[133] Elements of these cultures were often synthesized and re-presented as authentic iterations of Slavic heritage.

Starting with very modest means, Štech reported that the founders of Artěl proved within just a few months that they were serious about their endeavor, participating at the 1908 Jubilee Exhibition of Arts and Industry in their own pavilion **[FIGURE 28]**.[134] Pavel Janák designed and František Kavalír (1878-1932) built a small wooden kiosk to display Artěl's wares for sale, with a floor plan likely no bigger than 6.5 x 10 feet (2 x 3 meters).[135] The Asian-influenced stylizations of the

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[132] Filipová, "Peasants on Display," 16.

[133] This map was created using Google Fusion Tables and shows the birthplace of each Artěl associate. Clusters of green and yellow indicate a higher density of Artěl members originating in those locations.

[134] The Prague Chamber of Commerce organized the 1908 Jubilee Exhibition in celebration of Emperor Franz Joseph's 60 years' reign. Held from May to October in the same exhibition grounds, Výstaviště Praha in Stromovka Park, as the 1891 General Land Centennial Exhibition (World's Fair), the event brought hundreds of thousands of visitors to see the latest industrial inventions, as well as applied arts, crafts, and cultural exhibits.

[135] Fronek, 14.

kiosk's design are leftover hallmarks of the late Art Nouveau period. The exhibit stall was filled with an eclectic mix of items, including Brunner's gingerbread cookies, toys by Brunner and Benda, decorative ceramic figures and jewelry by Johnová, Teinitzerová's batik textiles, as well as painted boxes and other souvenirs by the group. An introduction to Artěl and a series of photographs of their works for sale at the exhibition were published in the Mánes Society's journal *Styl* in 1908.[136] Art critic Zdeněk Wirth reviewed the Jubilee Exhibition with scorn for the overwhelming historicism and pseudo-modern arts industry of Bohemia.[137] Indeed, Artěl's exhibition did not succeed in garnering much public interest in their endeavors, but the group did not lose heart so soon.[138]

To brand the group's exhibit stall and attract shoppers, Marie Teinitzerová's textile workshop produced the Artěl banner, embroidered with deer motif similar to one of Brunner's toy designs **[FIGURE 29]**. This motif would become a logo for Artěl through the First World War **[FIGURE 30]**. It is unclear if or why the deer held particular meaning for Artěl artists in the first decade of the twentieth century. There are various folkloric legends about deer throughout Eastern Europe, including the Slovenian tale of the golden-horned deer, Zlatorog, who holds the key to treasures hidden in the Slovenian mountains, such as caves full of gold and golden springs. This myth is likely a local version of a broader Indo-European concept of a golden-horned unicorn or stag, appearing in mythology across Europe from the Celts to the

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[136] *Styl* I (1908): 152-158.

[137] Fronek, 17.

[138] *Ibid.*

Greeks. Monika Kropej writes that Zlatorog plays a "decisive role in the process of renewal," as one of the four Slovenian mythical creatures associated with the changing of seasons.[139] Zlatorog is also considered to be immortal, since, if shot by a hunter, his blood will sprout magical healing flowers to instantly cure him. In addition to the inspiration of Brunner's toy featuring a golden-horned deer, these associations with healing and renewal reflect Artěl's mission, and likely played a role in Janák's choice of a stag for the Artěl logo. Indeed, a Czech version of Zlatorog exists, known as Zlatoroh [Goldenhorn]. The SVU Mánes published a monographic series called *Zlatoroh* between 1909 and 1929. Each issue covered one figure or topic in cultural Czech history, including Josef Mánes (1909), Prague Baroque (1910), Jan Hus (1915), T.G. Masaryk (1926-1927), and Josef Dobrovský (1928).

While artists and crafts(wo)men working to revive local art forms in rural regions throughout the Czech Lands typically strove for a purity of traditional styles, techniques, and materials, Artěl's designers working in Prague did not distinguish between regional characteristics, instead fashioning stylizations of folk motifs and architecture, and presenting them as a universal Czech popular culture. The interior décor of a confectioner's shop in Prague, for example, designed by Artěl's Rudolf Stockar and František Kysela, represents not one particular Czech folk tradition, but rather stands as a symbol of a broader concept of Slavic folk culture **[FIGURE 31]**. At the same time, young Czech artists working in Prague engaged with international avant-garde trends originating in France and Germany in order to express their

[139] Monika Kropej, *Supernatural Beings from Slovenian Myth and Folktales* (Ljubljana, Scientific Research Center of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2012): 76.

modernity. In Kysela's and Stockar's shop interior, the woodwork's angular facets reflect the Czech Cubist style that manifested in avant-garde painting, architecture, and design between 1909 and the First World War, while the stylized floral motifs carved and painted onto the woodwork emulate traditional Czech architectural decoration, which you can see on the gable and underside of the roof of farmhouses in Eastern Bohemia **[FIGURE 32]**. Czech Cubism itself harkened back to Bohemian Baroque and Gothic architecture of Prague's Golden Age, when it was the seat of two Holy Roman Emperors. Celebrating local history and reviving Bohemian folk culture while adapting such avant-garde styles as Cubism and Expressionism to their own context, the Czech Cubists, many of whom were a part of Artěl, created a uniquely Czech style—at once historical and modern, local and transnational. Through the commercial sale of their utilitarian products in a cooperative venture, and their participation in domestic and international exhibitions, Artěl artists fostered a visual idiom of Czechness among both local and foreign audiences at a politically-auspicious moment in European history. This dual outlook both distinguishes the Czech applied artists from their Viennese and Western European counterparts and aligns them with other Central and Eastern European developments among Polish, Croatian, and Slovene artists.[140]

[140] See Clegg.

A Permanent Space for Artěl

The founding members of Artěl longed for workshops to support their mission. Jaroslava Vondráčková recounted the influence on Artěl founders of an article in *The Studio*[141] describing Russian Princess Maria Tenisheva's Talashkino workshops in Smolensk.[142] Russian avant-garde artists and designers flocked there to explore Russian folk-art themes and media, including lessons from local peasants and domestic workers of the nearby village. V. V. Štech and Alois Dyk discussed their dream of workshops like the Wiener Werkstätte during their meeting at Café Arco in 1907. They complained of the lack of money to accomplish such efforts. Indeed, the Wiener Werkstätte provided a model for Artěl, even as the Czechs sought to overcome the failings of their Viennese counterparts.[143] Several early Artěl artists had connections to the Wiener Werkstätte, mostly due to their time spent at art schools in Vienna.[144] Vondráčková recounts that by the time Alois Dyk and V.V. Štech met with Brunner in late 1907, there had been conversations among young artists for more than a year about "tackling the excesses of Viennese high society, the dandyism, the 'Makartism' of aristocratic lifestyles, Kolo Moser, the pseudo-historicism and poor taste of Austrian bureaucrats. A new century means the birth of thoughts, of new

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141 C. de Danilovicz, "Talashkino, Princess Tenishef's School of Russian Applied Art," *The Studio*, XLI (1907): 135-140.

142 Jaroslava Vondráčková, "Artěl," *Tvar (Form)* 19, no. 3 (1968): 66. Princess Tenisheva was a founder of the Russian avant-garde magazine *Mir iskusstva* (1899-1904).

143 Rainald Franz, "Artěl and the Wiener Werkstätte: A Convergence of Ideas," in *Cubism—Constructivism—Form Art*, edited by Agnes Husslein-Arco and Alexander Klee (New York: Prestel, 2016): 67.

144 Pavel Janák and Josef Chochol, for example, both studied with Otto Wagner in Vienna between 1906 and 1909.

forms."[145] The 1905 work program of the Wiener Werkstätte reads similarly to Artěl's mission statement:

> The infinite harm done to the applied arts through poor-quality mass production on the one hand, resulting in thoughtless imitation of old styles on the other, pervades the whole world like a torrent. We have lost touch with the culture of our forefathers and are flung to and fro by a thousand desires and considerations. In place of the hand is not the machine, in place of the craftsman is the businessman. To swim against this tide would be madness. Nevertheless, we have founded our workshop. […] We want to establish a close connection between public, designer, craftsman, and to create simple, good-quality household items.[146]

In fact, once the founders of Artěl cohered to begin planning their business venture, they sought a license from the city to name their cooperative the Pražské dílny [Prague Workshops]. Without the space and experience necessary to run such an organization, the city denied their application, and they were forced to come up with a different name.

In the winter of 1908-1909, Artěl decided their studio space at Kaprová street, should be converted into an official exhibition and retail space. Janák designed the interior, consisting of several white display cases in the style of the Viennese Art Nouveau **[FIGURES 33-34]**. This room, published in 1909 in the magazine *Český svět*, is considered one of the first modern interiors of Prague.[147] To their original product lines of toys, wooden boxes, figurines and jewelry, Artěl added Janák's geometric star pillow designs **[FIGURE 35]** and Teinitzerová's simple and light

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[145] Vondráčková, 65, translated in Franz, 67-68.

[146] Wiener Werkstätte, 1905, translated in Franz, 67.

[147] *Český svět* 5, no. 24 (March 26, 1909): 576-577.

floral curtains **[FIGURE 36]**. The room was decorated with a rug by Teinitzerová featuring an abstract geometric design "consisting of (according to its function) only the abstract geometric structure of the texture of the woven material."[148] Despite the opening of a public shop, sales remained low, and Artěl's leadership knew that overcoming space issues was their only hope of commercial success.

A street-level storefront that could be operated as a permanent store was clearly a necessary step, and in 1909, Artěl moved to 8 Františkovo nábřeží on the riverfront. 1909 also brought an expansion in Artěl's membership, including Vlastislav Hofman, Jaroslav Horejc, and Václav Špála. Horejc's membership in the Austrian Werkbund, and his contacts at the Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie (MAK) led to Artěl's participation in the 1909 MAK Winter Exhibition. They submitted wooden furniture, toys, and glass beads as a representation of their overall product line. The group expected a greater appreciation for their work in Vienna than in what some still saw as provincial Prague.[149] Their participation in subsequent Winter Exhibitions at MAK until the First World War resulted in the MAK's acquisition of a substantial collection of ceramics and glass for the museum collection. Furthermore, Artěl sold some of its ceramics and glass products through the Wiener Werkstätte during these years **[FIGURES 37-38]**.

Artěl also began participating in more domestic exhibitions to promote its mission to Czech audiences and encourage the development of a domestic market for

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[148] Fronek, 17.

[149] *Ibid*, 19.

Czech goods **[FIGURES 39-40]**.[150] Alois Dyk wrote a campaign to encourage the group's supporters to buy more shares in the cooperative, emphasizing the important work Artěl was undertaking to promote Czech craftsmanship abroad and to support the development of graduates from Czech art and vocational schools.[151] To further promote their products and activities at home, the group published advertisements regularly in popular magazines such as *Český svět*, and in artists' magazines, such as *Styl*. The March 1909 *Český svět* article shows the Kaprová street shop interior, along with embroidered pillows and curtains, painted wooden boxes **[FIGURES 33-34]**.[152] The cabinets are full of toys, jewelry, ceramics, and glass. An accompanying text explains for a general Czech audience the choice of a Russian word for the group's

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[150] For example, in 1909 and 1911, Artěl held the Vánoční výstava or Christmas exhibition. In 1909, an advertisement and several images of ceramic works by Jaroslav Horejc were published in *Český svět* 6, no. 13 (December 23, 1909): 299. The text reads, "This original exhibition enjoys an increasing attendance by our and German audiences. Young eager artists exhibit art and industrial objects, which surely compete with imported objects from abroad. Especially, however, it is the works of J. Horejc, whose originality attracts attention for our company. It is not our intention to write here what Artěl prepared "for Jesus." All you have to do is jump from the promenade to the quiet Františkovo embankment, where the sales rooms of this party are located. Be sure not to resist those few moments, nor the rich selection you will take away."

In 1911, a short blurb and several images (arrangements of embroidery, metalwork, ceramics, and jewelry by various artists) were again published in *Český svět* 8, no. 15 (December 15, 1911): 389. The text reads, "From the Artěl Christmas market we show examples of Czech art and industrial production. - Artěl has redefined its market this Christmas in its great rooms in Bellevue, fully aware not only of the importance of the art but also of the importance of the national economic problems, which has helped to solve its very existence. - Apart from a few examples of the art of the Yugoslavia, there is not a commodity of foreign origin. - We pay increased attention to the art industry every year at this time, when millions of our national capital move from the hands of consumers to the hands of production in a few days, and as a golden moisture, going to the roots of economic entrepreneurship. It should be a serious task for the Czech public, so that the moisture goes to the roots of the home and does not flow abroad!"

[151] Fronek, 19.

[152] *Český svět* 5, no. 24 (March 26, 1909): 576-577.

name and offers a summary of its first year. The author (initials H.K. and otherwise unnamed in the issue) asserts Artěl's modernity: "We do not have to point out that it is a purely modern business, because the principles on which it was founded have been developed only recently," and positions the group within the arts-and-crafts framework: "[Artěl] only stands against industrial production wherever it does not produce an honest and formally perfect work […] nor does [Artěl] reject mechanical production, but does not allow craft to be enslaved by it and seeks it only where it fits." In *Styl*'s first volume in 1908-1909, some of Artěl's products were featured alongside examples of Czech folk crafts. V. H. Brunner's gingerbread cookies, for example, were pictured on a page featuring gingerbread cookies by A. Brejchová, not a known artist within the Prague avant-garde **[FIGURE 41]**. Brunner's designs appear generally less intricately decorative, and some significantly more abstract than Brejchová's cookies. It is difficult to say whether this reflects a conscious effort on Brunner's part to "modernize" a traditional folk craft in Bohemia or the difference between Brejchová's highly practiced skills in intricate cookie decoration and Brunner's first forays into the medium. Across these periodical publications, Artěl presented itself to the artistic community and broader Czech public as intentional about its mission to renew traditional Czech art for the modern era. The images stand alone, interspersed among articles to which they do not necessarily correspond in content; however, the juxtapositions of crafts by known avant-garde artists and general representations of folk crafts by often unnamed hands asserts equality, not difference.

Jindřich Vybíral asks what is Czech about Czech art in Bohemia;[153] Marta Filipová asks what is Czech about Czech lace or Bohemian glass?[154] Indeed, Artěl artists actively engaged in the "invention of tradition,"[155] or the canonization of what twentieth-century cosmopolitan Czechs could point to as authentic styles and media across the history of the Czech people. But did Artěl artists ask themselves what is Czech about the Czech folk arts they integrated into their products? One might take the group's lack of direct engagement with that question as an answer. Artěl's focus as a group did lie elsewhere in the restoration of quality craftsmanship to contemporary applied arts. Their mission says nothing of bringing Czech national character to Czech design. It is clear in their products and activities, however, that the group was very much a part of the ongoing conversations and endeavors in the arts and broader society to identify, recover, and elevate a Czech national heritage, which would stand in contrast to the enduring German presence and Austrian rule.

So what *is* Czech about Czech art and design? Vybíral analyzes the various late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century responses of Czech artists to an inflammatory lecture delivered by art historian Alfred Woltmann (1841-1880) at the Karolinum in Prague in 1876 on "German Art in Prague." Woltmann argued, "From

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153 Jindřich Vybíral, "What is 'Czech' in Art in Bohemia? Alfred Woltmann and Defensive Mechanisms of Czech Artistic Historiography," *Kunstchronik* LIX, no. 1 (2006): 1-7.

154 Marta Filipová, "Czech Glass or Bohemian Crystal? The Nationality of Design in the Czech Context," in *Designing Worlds: National Design Histories in an Age of Globalization*, edited by Kjetil Fallan and Grace Lees-Maffei (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016): 141-155.

155 See *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

the point of view of art history, the Bohemian lands are a German province,"[156] and that the character of Czech art "was almost exclusively the result of German influences that served as the source and support of the Slavic elements…"[157] Again and again, the Czech Baroque—which nineteenth-century Czechs adamantly stressed was derived from the Italian Baroque, with no German influence—is held up by offended Czechs as the crowning example of a point when Czechs artists successfully assimilated and transformed an international style with their own unique national character. That character was thought to be shaped by the local environment and folk traditions **[FIGURE 42]**. Multiple artists and art historians pointed to the rhythmic and decorative qualities of Czech art: "Everywhere, it is possible to follow the same tendency to lead all action up onto the surface, to transform the structure and composition of forms into a rhythm of surfaces, to transform structural elements into an assemblage of rich and lively ornament."[158] This was certainly true of the Baroque period in the Czech Lands, and it follows in Artěl's production, and especially that of the Czech Cubists, whose work will be explored in the next chapter. Filipová argues that while the concept of a Czech national art is flawed—"for it is impossible, as well as redundant, to discriminate specially national features"—a Czech national design "seems to be more resilient."[159] She points to the commercial nature of design, and the

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156 Alfred Woltmann, *Deutsche Kunst in Prag: ein Vortrag gehalten zu Prag am 25. November 1876,* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1877).

157 Vybíral, "What is 'Czech' in Art in Bohemia?" 1.

158 V. V. Štech, "Smysl země [The Sense of the Earth]" in Štech, *Včera: Výbor článků z r. 1910-1920* (Prague: Jan Štenc, 1921): 239.

159 Filipová, "Czech Glass or Bohemian Crystal?," 142.

use of "Czech design" as a brand, but also the "historical, political and cultural reasons for retaining the notion of national specificity in design"[160]—the unity that a sense of shared traditions brings. Glass was and still is seen as part of Czech heritage because of its nationally- and internationally-recognized centuries-long production history in the Czech Lands. The same can be said for lace-making and certain textiles, such as hand-dyed indigo and batik. Filipová goes on to argue that the birth of design as a concept occurred at the same time as the modern concept of nations and nationalism, which allowed the two concepts to be linked. It is worth pointing out that this coincidence of timing does not mean that painters, sculptors, and architects did not capitalize as well on the concept of a national art in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. These media by nature are not as mass-marketable as those of designers and craftsmen and women, and a group like Artěl was especially well-positioned to exploit the political and social concerns of the time, responding swiftly to the tides of sweeping change across the first three decades of the twentieth century.

The Rise of Women Modern Artists through the Applied Arts

Especially in Artěl's early years, when the group focused on reviving national arts and crafts industries for the modern era, including lacemaking, decorative painting, and textile arts—all traditional crafts considered the realm of women's homemaking—women's skills and knowledge were called upon for the first time by avant-garde artists. Around the same time, some institutions of higher education

[160] *Ibid.*

began to offer curricula for women. Jindřich Vybíral points out that, "at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the School of Applied Arts was one of the few state institutions, if not the only one, that provided a base in Prague for the development of modern art."[161] While the School of Applied Arts was the first art school of higher education to admit and employ women in 1885, only certain subjects "in a shortened programme" were available to women.[162] Thus, the institution graduated some of the first women who would take part in the Czech avant-garde from the 1890s through the 1930s. The School of Applied Arts employed younger Czech artists, many members of the Mánes Association and other secessionist, avant-garde organizations, while Prague's Academy of Fine Arts and the Czech Technical University remained the official representatives of Czech academic art and architecture. The early experiments of women designers, almost entirely neglected by historians throughout the twentieth century, have only begun to see the light of scholarship in recent years.[163]

Zdeňka Braunerová was the first female member of the Mánes Association and the oldest artist associated with the Artěl Cooperative. Traveling annually to Paris from 1881, she studied at the Academie Colarossi and exhibited her illustrations and landscape paintings regularly in the Paris Salons and women's exhibitions in the 1890s. The wealthy daughter of a politician and miller family, Braunerová was a patron of several important late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century artists,

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[161] Jindřich Vybíral, "The Reception of the Arts and Crafts Movement in Bohemia Around 1900," *Centropa* 4, no. 3 (2004): 222.

[162] Filipová, *Modernity, History and Politics in Czech Art*, 29.

[163] See especially the works of Jiří Hořava, Zuzana Šidlíková, Martina Pachmanová, and Karla Huebner.

including Jože Úprka, Frantisek Bílek, and Jan Zrzavý. She was in regular correspondence with prominent artists and writers, such as Julius Zeyer, with whom she had a love affair, and F. X. Šalda. Growing up in a household where her parents hosted the likes of the Palacký family,[164] Czech journalist and politician Vojtěch Náprstek (1826-1894), and 1848 revolutionary politician and publicist František Ladislav Rieger (1818-1903) instilled Braunerová with a strong sense of Czech patriotism. In Paris, she was known to perform Czech dances and songs in Czech costume. Her stays in Paris only heightened her romantic love for her homeland. She had a studio in the town of Roztoky, just north of Prague, called Braunerová's Mill, where she often hosted Czech and international artists. In 1892, Braunerová and her colleague Tyršová organized a small exhibition of women's art for L'Exposition industrielle in Paris. Tyršová recounted that the 1891 Jubilee Exhibition in Prague was mainly about the presentation of nations, and folk art was a means, not an aim. It had presented women's art as anonymous representations of the folk character of the nation.[165] In Paris, they sought to promote Czech folk art for its craftsmanship, beauty, and uniqueness. They commissioned Jan Koula (1855-1919), notable Czech architect who integrated vernacular folk architecture with modern building techniques, to build an exhibition pavilion in which Braunerová and Tyršová painted ornaments inspired by folk embroidery and included six folk costumes. The exhibit also displayed examples of Bohemian, Moravian, and Slovak lace, embroidery, hats, and sails, as

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[164] See discussion of František Palacký in Introduction chapter.

[165] Petra Křápková, "Role umění na přelomu 19. a 20. století pohledem Renáty Tyršové a Zdeňky Braunerové" (MA Thesis, Masaryk University, 2010): 64.

well as toys, which were so popular as to bring local French merchants to Bohemia. Both women were outraged by the French ignorance of ethnic interests in Central Europe, fuming, "How can we get it into these dear Frenchmen's heads that we are not 'Hongrois?' Wherever I go, everywhere they think the Hungarians are Slavs and that we are Hungarians! …We are the Bohême, Slave, Tchéque and not Hongroi."[166]

Braunerová developed a strong connection to many modern artists in Paris and Prague and aimed to bridge the space between. She was instrumental in bringing Rodin to Prague in 1902 for the momentous Mánes exhibition of his work, and she accompanied him to the Slovak countryside during his visit. Braunerová was an avid collector of folk and modern crafts in the early twentieth century and made her own folk-inflected painted glass and book illustrations **[FIGURE 15]**. Her graphics were inspired by the nineteenth-century Czech National Revival artists' interest in Czech Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque elements. For Artěl, Braunerová painted wooden boxes and designed glass sold in its early exhibits and shop.[167]

One of Artěl's women founders, Marie Teinitzerová, was another ground-breaking woman artist whose training in the applied arts afforded her the opportunities and connections to make an impact on the development of Czech modernism. In her early twenties, Teinitzerová had sought artistic training in urban

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[166] Letter dated April 23, 1892 from Zdeňka Braunerová to painter Soběslav Pinkas (1827-1901), with whom she had studied art, held in the Národní Muzeum's Archiv Tyršová muzea tělesné výchovy a sportu [National Museum: Renata Tyršová's Papers in the Archive of the Museum of Physical Education and Sport]. Quoted in Irena Štěpánová, "Výstava ženských umění v Paříži a české intelektuálky [Exhibition of Women Artists in Paris and Czech Female Intellectuals]," *Český lid* 90 (2003): 362.

[167] Vondráčková, 73, 76.

centers—first at the Vienna Art School for Women and Girls, where she learned of John Ruskin and William Morris's theories of aesthetics, then at Prague's School of Decorative Arts' Drawing and Painting School for Ladies, where she focused on ornamental drawing and embroidery. Fully embracing the spirit of the English Arts and Crafts movement, in 1903 she wrote of her ambitions to open a studio in which she could ennoble the souls of young women by teaching them how to make beautiful things for the purpose of nurturing their families and domestic spaces.[168] She then set out on a study tour to learn weaving techniques and hand-dying in Berlin, Stockholm, and Copenhagen. She was committed to natural dyes and traditional techniques, experimenting with those of Ancient Egypt, France, and her local region **[FIGURE 43]**. She was also attracted to the abstract geometry of primitive ornament, citing prehistoric and medieval arts and crafts and folk ornament of southern Bohemian embroidery **[FIGURES 44-45]**. Across these textile samples, the stylized organic elements repeated in alternating patterns of wreaths, flowers, and/or vines recall embroidered and lace patterns in folk costume throughout the Czech Lands **[FIGURE 20]**, as well as applied ornament on Bohemian Baroque façades **[FIGURE 42]**. A granary with a baroque gable near Tábor, southern Bohemia features pendant medallion-like floral and wreath forms "hanging" on the architectural elements of the façade. These forms, as well as the grass-like accent at the peak of the gable and lace-like framing around the edges of the structure, are common patterns in a variety of

[168] Lada Hubatová-Vacková, *Silent Revolutions in Ornament: Studies in Applied Arts and Crafts from 1880 to 1930* (Prague: Vysoká škola umělecké-průmyslová, 2011): 159; quoted from Teinitzerová's personal journals, held in the archives at the Muzeum Jindřichohradecka in Jindřichův Hradec, Czech Republic. This entry was dated February 11, 1903.

traditional Czech folk media and echoed in the potato-stamped fabric Teinitzerová produced in the earliest years of Artěl. The stylization and abstraction in Teinitzerová's work is not a modernist adaptation, but rather an enduring characteristic of Czech folk art. What is new in Teinitzerová's designs for curtains, compared to the folk dress that inspired her work, is the minimal use of just a couple decorative elements repeated over and over in a clean, orderly pattern. Some of Teinitzerová's early carpets show her engagement with Czech Cubist formal experimentation, relying heavily on the diagonal and stark contrasts between patterns and background to create a dynamic, modern style in step with her male colleagues, such as František Kysela and Pavel Janák **[FIGURES 35, 38, 46-48]**.

Despite their relegation to the sidelines, the women textile designers' autonomy effectively allowed them to experiment more, and many saw commercial success in their entrepreneurial ventures. Teinitzerová, for example, soon became frustrated with Artěl, finding the group's commitment to the spiritual revival of society through the merging of art and life to be deficient. The failure of Artěl to realize its goal of communal workshops encouraged Teinitzerová to open her own textile cooperative in 1909 in her hometown of Jindřichův Hradec in southern Bohemia, where she employed over one hundred local weavers and carried out "her idea of community handicraft—growing flax, spinning, artistic weaving, dyeing and embroidery—[which] would be a way to fulfil her dream to merge art with life **[FIGURE 49]**. She could thus join her personal artistic ambition with her faith in social reform, the emancipation of women and, last but not least, the preservation of

the handicraft, ethnographic traditions of the southern Bohemia region."[169] She focused not only on the integration of art into daily life through handicraft production, but also on the spiritual revival of society through beauty and tradition. Thus, Teinitzerová embodies the duality of early twentieth-century arts and crafts revivals—we discover in her philosophical and artistic engagements with tradition and primitivism, and with craftsmanship and collective communes, her very modernity and the underpinnings of Artěl's stated mission. Interestingly, she constantly felt Artěl to be in conflict with her own ideals, and her interactions with the group continued after 1910 only from a distance and sometimes stopped all together for long periods of time.

Helena Johnová, Teinitzerová's fellow woman founder of Artěl, trained with Czech painter Jakub Schikaneder (1855-1924) at the School of Applied Arts in Prague between 1899 and 1907, and continued her studies in Vienna at the School of Applied Arts, with a specialization in ceramics, in the studio of Wiener Werkstätte artist Michael Powolny. In 1919, she founded the ceramics studio and specialization as a professor at the School of Applied Arts in Prague. Like Teinitzerová, Johnová studied regional styles within her chosen medium, holding internships at the Waldenburg porcelain factory in Wrocław, Poland and in the ceramics school in Bechyně, and working for some time in 1909 in the workshops of the famous Modra ceramic company in Slovakia. In 1911, she co-founded a pottery workshop in Vienna—Keramische Werkgenossenschaft GmBH [Ceramic Works Cooperative

[169] *Ibid,* 161.

Limited Liability Company] (1911-1920)—with colleagues Rosa Neuwirth and Ida Schwtz-Lehmann from the Vienna School of Applied Arts. Johnová regularly sent her work from Vienna to the Artěl store in Prague **[FIGURE 50]**. Another example of her work from this early period **[FIGURE 17]** was sold by Artěl with great success—almost 900 castings were produced, which Johnová colored in slight variations. A letter from Artěl's management, dated July 28, 1916 reads, "We acknowledge receipt of incoming goods and at the same time ask for a new shipment of Moors, which are still in short supply."[170] The figurine was exhibited in the 1913-1914 Winter Exhibition in Vienna, as well as the 1914 Werkbund exhibition in Cologne, where the Moor figurine is reported to have sold well and garnered a lot of attention. Johnová's use of radiant glazes and warm colors, as opposed to the pastel colors favored by many porcelain factories at the time, are reminiscent of folk pottery.[171] The theme of the Moor has a long history in European culture and is associated with exoticism and service. Several Czech sculptors at the beginning of the twentieth century exploited the trope of the Other in their works, including Jan Štursa's *Sulamit Rahu* (1910-1911)[172] and Cubist sculptor Otto Gutfreund's *Nosič bavlny [Cotton Carrier]* (1921). Johnová's inspiration for the figure is thought to be the Moorish character in Richard Strauss's *Der Rosenkavalier* opera (1911).[173] While the figure has nothing to do with

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[170] Letter to Johnová, quoted in Fronek, "Drobná dekorativní plastika [Small Decorative Sculpture]," in *Artěl: Umění pro všední den*, edited by Fronek, 118. Letter held in Helena Johnová's Estate Fund, Correspondence File, UPM Documentation Center.

[171] Jiří Hořava, *První dáma české keramiky: Helena Johnová (1884-1962)* (České Budějovice: Měsíc ve dne, 2017): 119.

[172] Sulamit Rahu was a Moroccan belly dancer who danced regularly at the Lucerna Cabaret in Prague, which opened in 1909 in the grand Art Nouveau Lucerna Palace building.

[173] Hořava, 124.

Czech folk culture, it is not all together surprising that this fashionable figurine became one of the more commercially successful products of Artěl in the 1910s and 1920s.

In the early years of Artěl, Johnová and Teinitzerová also contributed jewelry and beaded belts to the group's wares for sale. **[FIGURE 51]** They used affordable materials, such as glass or wooden beads threaded on string or strands of silk ribbon, which contributed to the democratization of jewelry. Meant to be wrapped and draped around the neck with long strands hanging as far as the waist, these necklaces were similar in style (but not material) to other Art Nouveau jewelry. The sautoir style—an extremely long neck chain terminating in a pendant or tassel—would continue to remain popular through the Art Deco period. Johnová and Teinitzerová named their rhythmic compositions of colored beads with poetic titles, such as Rye Field and the Elbe Streams[174]—references to national features and rural themes. Originally, Teinitzerová and Johnová are reported to have wanted to order stocks of Venetian glass beads; however, fellow Artěl founder Pavel Janák argued that the group should use locally produced materials.[175] Johnová also experimented with enamel charms on metal bases around 1910 **[FIGURE 52]**. Mimicking the style of expensive jewelry with precious gemstone inlays, Johnová's costume jewelry remained affordable and fashionable. Compared to the Wiener Werkstätte's early jewelry designs, which included opal, silver, lapis lazuli, and diamond **[FIGURE 53]**, Artěl's products

[174] Alois Dyk, "Artěl," *Výtvarné snahy* X, no. 6 (1928-1929): 98.

[175] *Ibid*, 99.

adhered more strictly in the early years to the group's goal of making high-quality craftsmanship and design accessible for the everyday Czech household.

Two other early Artěl women associates, Minka Podhajská (1881-1963) and Fanny Harlfingerová-Zákucká (1873-1954), were both active in Viennese art circles through their training in Vienna and marriages to Viennese artists, and they were members of the Klimtgruppe and the Wiener Werkstätte. However, they also contributed numerous toy designs to Artěl's early products **[FIGURES 54-56]**. Both women trained with Adolf Böhm at the Kunstschule für Frauen and Mädchen in Vienna. In 1902, their graphic work was published in the journal of the Vienna Secession, *Ver Sacrum*, with one of Podhajská's designs gracing the cover **[FIGURES 57-59]**.[176] They participated in the 1908 Kunstschau and were mentioned in Hevesi's review of the show: "Then one comes to the very child-loving hall, where Adolf Böhm's school, mostly women, is exhibiting. To what extent they are still "school of", I do not know, for some are already known names in the art world; such as the ladies Zákucká and Podhajská, who even play a role in *The Studio*. These two are the outstanding figuralists; their turned figures are also a popular toy in England."[177] In 1906, their innovative toy designs were praised in *The Studio*:

> Frau Zakucka-Harlfinger and Fräulein [Minka] Podhajska…turned their thoughts to toy-making some three years ago, and, like Fraulein von Uchatius, have been very successful in their achievements. Their methods, however, are very different; for while she chiefly uses the saw and carpenter's bench, these two ladies follow the turner's methods, using his tools and lathe. Their toys are turned from round forms. This is in itself an interesting fact. These

[176] *Ver Sacrum* 1, no. 17 (September 1902): 255.

[177] Lajos Hevesi, "Kunstschau 1908," in *Altkunst, Neukunst: Wien, 1894-1908*, edited by Lajos Havesi (Vienna: Carl Konegen, 1909): 311-315.

> designers have studied every branch of their art; they have worked at the lathe, and resorted to everything which could possibly help them.[178]

In the same article, Levetus suggests that toy design is well-suited to women, "for they better understand child nature than men; they are nearer to them in thought and sympathize with them in a way that men rarely do."[179] He praises and damns their work in the same breaths as he writes further:

> Frau Zakucka-Harlfinger has also constructed a village, but it differs from that of Fraulein von Uchatius, because she is of another race; the former's figures (of which some are reproduced) are typical of the regions nearest to her—Salzburg and Bohemia. So exact are her types that the authorities at Salzburg have purchased her figures, and also awarded her a prize for them, and it is their intention to have them made in large quantities and placed on the market. Many of the figures are movable, being worked with strings. She paints each figure herself, no two of them being alike, and delights in her work.[180]

Levetus ends his summary of Viennese toys with the following suggestion for carrying on the creation of playthings for children, when the male artists must turn their attention to more important endeavors:

> It is indeed alike interesting and significant to find men like Professor Moser, Herr Andri, and others, who have achieved an international reputation in the fine and decorative arts, bringing their talent to bear on such objects as playthings for children. But it is hardly to be expected that they can, in the future, devote any considerable part of their precious time to this branch of applied art; it must suffice that they have shown the way. It seems to me, however, that by employing women-designers possessing the necessary

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[178] A.S. Levetus, 1906, "Modern Viennese Toys," *The Studio* XXXVIII (159): 218.

[179] *Ibid*, 214.

[180] *Ibid*, 218. Levetus refers to Zákucká-Harlfinger's "race" in order to highlight her Slavic, as opposed to Germanic or Austrian, ethnicity. He implies that this makes her village design an authentic representation of rural Slavic folk life.

> qualities, much good could be achieved and the field of toy-making greatly enlarged.[181]

The toy designs of Harlfingerová-Zákucká and Podhajská were successful products for Artěl in its first decade or so, when the group relied more on the sale of small-scale items at exhibitions and in its shop than on the larger commissions of which they still dreamed.

The activities and involvement of this first generation of women artists in Artěl paved the way for another generation of young women designers to participate more fully in the avant-garde in the 1920s and 1930s. Generally speaking, women in Artěl and other avant-garde applied artist collectives largely worked in media considered traditional women's work, such as textiles and decorative painting; however, over the course of Artěl's existence, some women were able to push the boundaries of gendered artistic disciplines. Furthermore, after the formation of the First Czechoslovak Republic in 1918, women embodying the concept of the New Woman would play another, more general role in modernism as a symbol of the progressiveness of Czechoslovakia, just as they had been used as a symbol of the long-standing folk culture and history of the Czech Lands during this first decade of the twentieth century.

Artists across Europe around the turn of the century looked to the past for antidotes to the ills of modern life and industrialized production. In the Czech Lands, this mining of the past and admiration for the simpler lifestyles of those living outside cities held even greater meaning in the political context of the Dual Monarchy than

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[181] *Ibid,* 219.

the Arts-and-Crafts movements in England, Germany, or Vienna. Artěl's attempts to bring Czech folk arts to the everyday household and modernize them for the twentieth century were part of a nationalist endeavor to bring recognition to Czech culture within Europe at large and to differentiate it from the dominate Germanic culture of the monarchy. As political and artistic contexts changed over the next two decades, so too would Artěl's approach to the blending of traditional and modern styles and forms. The next chapter presents the calamitous, but creatively sensational years leading into to the First World War, as Cubism and Expressionism found inventive new expression in Prague, especially in the applied arts and architecture.

Chapter 2: Czech Cubism: Branding Czech Art (1910-1918)

> For those who seek in art nothing more than a pleasant tickling of the senses, Cubism will always be a hard nut to crack, or an outright nonsense. However, real artists have never created for this class of people. Those who want to find inner enrichment and growth in art will find such wealth in the new art, that all the effort invested in penetrating its essence will turn into pleasure.[182]
> —Vincenc Kramář (1921)

The Avant-Garde in Pre-War Prague

If the first several years of Artěl's existence was a time of experimentation with the modernization and democratization of folk crafts toward the establishment of Czech modern design, the next phase of the group's development saw the first successful attempt by the Prague avant-garde at large (including many Artěl affiliates) to create a singular Czech modern style in the applied arts. The period between 1910 and the First World War was a time of division and several major schisms among arts organizations, and new applied arts groups formed in addition to Artěl, with many overlapping members across groups. The Czech members of the short-lived secessionist group of painters Osma [The Eight] (1907-1908) broke away again from the Mánes Association in 1911, bringing others along with them and making "absolutely clear that they were going to follow their artistic ideals uncompromisingly, without regard to the external environment and to public reaction."[183] The new group, called Skupina výtvarných umělců [Group of Fine

[182] Vincenc Kramář, *Kubismus* (Brno: Nákl. Morav.-Slezské Revue, 1921); translated in *Between Worlds: A Sourcebook of Central European Avant-Gardes, 1910-1930*, edited by Benson and Forgács, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002): 117.

[183] Karel Srp, "New Alternatives: Prague," in *Between Worlds: A Sourcebook,* 81.

Artists] (SVU) (1911-1914) included visual artists, architects, art historians and writers and founded the important avant-garde arts magazine *Umělecký měsíčník [Art Monthly]* (1911-1914).[184] These artists, architects, and writers became the core group of Czech Cubists during Skupina's existence. Their focus, made evident in their articles published in *Umělecký měsíčník*, was to capture through the visual arts and the built environment the spiritual essence of form, or what they understood as an internal movement or vibration inherent in all forms. The group's members experimented with form in a variety of ways, influenced by Cubism, Expressionism, and (to a lesser extent) Futurism all at once. What resulted was a unique hybrid that assimilated and transformed these international styles with a local inflection that leads historians to recognize the singular movement of Czech Cubism. *Umělecký měsíčník* was not limited to contemporary art, however. Skupina artists and affiliates "articulated a highly sophisticated argument for the national and international legitimacy of their work"[185] through the contextualization of their own designs and theory within their analyses of historical artistic movements and images of art and architecture from across time and throughout the world.

Collector and art historian Vincenc Kramář (1877-1960) played a crucial role in the development of Czech Cubism as an intermediary between Parisian and Prague

[184] Members included painters Vincenc Beneš, Josef Čapek, Emil Filla, Antonín Procházka, and Václav Špála; architect/designers Josef Gočár, Vlastislav Hofman, Josef Chochol, Pavel Janák; writers Karel Čapek and František Langer; and art historian Václav Vilém Štech. All Czech members of the group Osma joined Skupina except Bohumil Kubišta.

[185] Naomi Hume, "Context and Controversy around Prague's *Umělecký měsíčník* [*Art Monthly*], 1911-1914), *Centropa* 10, no 3 (2010): 204. For example, illustrations of architecture within one issue (v. 2, no. 3 (1913)) range from Petra, Jordan (1st-2nd century BCE), Egyptian columns at Luxor (BCE), and an Indian Buddhist temple (2nd century) to Baroque churches in Italy (17th century) and Vienna (18th century) and Janák's Cubist building designs from about 1912.

avant-garde art circles. He frequently visited Paris between 1910 and 1914 and began a collection of Cubist painting and sculpture by Pablo Picasso and the French Cubists. In May 1911, he became the first collector to purchase Picasso's *Head of a Woman (Fernande)* (1909) cast in bronze **[FIGURE 60]**.[186] Kramář's friendship with the famed German art collector and patron of the Parisian avant-garde, Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler (1884-1979), meant that the latter lent many French Cubist works for exhibition in Prague during the 1910s. Kramář regularly opened his apartment to artists and intellectuals for viewing his collections. He also lent his purchases to exhibitions in Prague and abroad, including several of the Skupina exhibitions. Perhaps most importantly, Kramář became a patron of young Czech Cubists' work from early on, encouraging their experimentation.

Skupina výtvarných umělců held their first group exhibition in January 1912 in the Obecní dům [Municipal Hall] **[FIGURES 61-62]**, and soon received scathing criticism from some of Prague's most-respected art critics. The older generation lost its patience with the younger artists at this moment. F. X. Šalda wrote of the exhibition: "The gentlemen present formulas and schematics, not works of art, not declarations and expressions of personalities and the richness of their lives. It is possible that this will feed the artist of future ages, but abstraction so radically offered has no magic for me other than a cold and unengaged amazement at a bizarre hypothesis."[187] Karel Mádl reviewed the exhibition in the popular weekly newspaper,

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[186] Kramář made his purchase from the Paris-based art dealer Ambroise Vollard. It was published from multiple viewpoints in Skupina's journal *Umělecký měsíčník* 2, no. 8 (1913): 199-200.

[187] F.X. Šalda, "Umělecká výstava v Obecním domě u Prašné brány [The Art Exhibition at the Municipal Hall near Powder Gate]," *Novina* 5 (1912): 247-248; translated in *Czech Cubism:*

Zláta Praha, condemning the "total, irresponsible freedom and autonomy of an artist who establishes new laws for himself according to his immediate wishes or needs," and denouncing Skupina's "complete departure from all reality."[188] For the majority of the newspaper's readership, who likely did not visit the exhibition, this review was their introduction to Czech Cubism.

Emil Filla became one of the strongest voices of Skupina, and his adherence to the French principles of Cubism and insistence that Czech artists follow the French model led many Skupina artists to abandon the group in 1912, including Václav Špála, Vlastislav Hofman, and Josef Chochol. However, the group still included some of the other architect/designers affiliated with Artěl, such as Pavel Janák, František Kysela, and Antonín Procházka. By the time of Skupina's second exhibition in the fall of 1912, their emphasis on "architecture as art" was clear.[189] Josef Gočár designed the Cubist gallery interiors **[FIGURE 63]**, which contained a section devoted to architectural models, plans, and photographs, including many drawings of Pavel Janák's almost fantastical Cubist facades and interiors—most of which would never be executed **[FIGURE 64]**. Gočár's *House of the Black Madonna* department store building, on the other hand, a model of which had been exhibited in the first Skupina exhibition, was almost complete near the exhibition venue at the Municipal House,

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Architecture, Furniture, and Decorative Arts, 1910-1925, edited by Alexander von Vegesack, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1991): 22.

[188] Karel B. Mádl, "Two Exhibitions," *Zlatá Praha* 30, no. 7 (1912): 83; quoted in Naomi Hume, "Avant-Garde Anachronisms: Prague's Group of Fine Artists and Viennese Art Theory," *Slavic Review* 71, no. 3 (2012): 516.

[189] Clegg, 199.

offering exhibition visitors the chance to see one of the first realizations of Cubist architecture in Prague on their way home **[FIGURES 65-66]**. This second exhibition by Skupina was international in its scope, including a section for painting and sculpture by Die Brücke artists, as well as French Cubist paintings lent by Kramář. The scope of this exhibition is telling—Czech avant-garde artists and architects sought to put their own work in conversation with both Cubism from France and Expressionism from Germany. Furthermore, their inclusion of architecture and applied arts demonstrated the Czechs' unusual cohesion across the arts, which was not the case in France or Germany.

In 1913, rather than display their own work, Skupina staged their third Prague exhibition as a collection of all the sources of their artistic inspiration **[FIGURES 67-68]**.[190] The exhibits included Gothic metalwork, seventeenth-century woodcuts, religious carvings and ceramics, reverse paintings on glass from Central Europe, reproductions of the work of El Greco and Rembrandt, an "exotic department" of Indian and Far Eastern works and African sculpture, all alongside contemporary French Cubist paintings.[191] A poster advertising the exhibition, designed by Artěl artist František Kysela, presents a stylized floral pattern over the names of French Cubists in large letters, followed by a summary of other types of art objects featured in the

[190] The third group exhibition of Skupina's work was held in Munich in April 1913 at the Neue Kunst Salon. This third Prague exhibition in May-June, 1913 was thus their fourth group exhibition. Their fifth group exhibition would also be held abroad in Berlin at Der Sturm Gallery in September-November 1913. The sixth and final exhibition in February-March 1914 was staged once again in Prague's Municipal House.

[191] Tomáš Winter, "A Fascination with Folk Art: Modernism and the Avant-Garde in Munich, Prague and Moscow around 1913," *Umění* LXIV, no. 3-4 (2016): 241-242.

exhibition **[FIGURE 69]**. The pairing of a folkish bouquet of flowers, touched by the energy and jagged lines of Expressionism and Futurism, with the names of Picasso, Braque, and Derain is a striking departure from the previous Skupina poster **[FIGURE 70]**. In the foreword to the exhibition, painter Vincenc Beneš said that "the objects of folk culture on view were not manifestations of strong creative individuals, considering them markedly superficial and decorative instead."[192] Nevertheless, Beneš saw in this primitivism, an "artistic purity of directness and immediacy in contact with the surroundings and objects, unspoiled by various degenerations, which leading art styles often fall into at time of decay, such as was shown lately in the rise of a forlorn naturalism and the optical copying from nature."[193] Art historian Tomáš Winter argues:

> For the artists of Skupina, the nationalistic interpretation of folk culture, typically found in the Czech milieu in the 19th century, did not have any significance. The members of the Group openly allied themselves with a cosmopolitan approach to art, thus building on the older activities of the Mánes Association of Fine Artists. […] The goal was to engage in the broader trend of European modernity and, in this way, legitimize the position of Prague vis-à-vis other European cities.[194]

However, Skupina chose to present mostly Central European and specifically Czech historical artifacts and folk art alongside some of the most avant-garde examples of international modernism. As this chapter will further demonstrate, the Czech Cubists drew inspiration from regional historical architectural styles. Whether the Group's members saw their art in the service of a bid for Czech nationhood or not, their

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[192] *Ibid,* 244.

[193] *Ibid.*

[194] *Ibid,* 248-249.

interpretation of French Cubism and the resulting stylistic development was visibly inflected with local and regional motifs. Artěl, on the other hand, openly embraced this marriage of Czech folk art and international styles in the ongoing nationalist movement, which was reaching a crescendo in the years before World War I began.

Czech Cubism in the Applied Arts and Artěl's Relationship with Cubism

Czech Cubism was multidimensional in its style, motifs, media, and historical and contemporary references—much less strict or theoretically heavy-handed as a movement overall than the French manifestation. An important distinction can be drawn between the groups of artists who experimented with Cubism in different media—the painters and sculptors were drawn to Paris, while the applied artists had trained largely in Vienna and Munich. While Expressionism and Symbolism certainly made their mark on most of the Czech Cubists, such as painters Bohumil Kubišta and Václav Špála and the sculptor Otto Gutfreund, the luminary of Cubist painting in the Czech Lands, Emil Filla, insisted on a strict adherence to the original Parisian principles of Cubism established in the canvases of Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque, and Juan Gris. Already working in media outside of Picasso's primary concerns, the applied artists who began to experiment with Cubism in their work around 1910 were free to be as loose with Cubist theory and as inventive with architectural form as they dared.

The Czech Lands are geographically situated so centrally in Europe that they sit at the crossroads between north and south, east and west. That geographical centrality has also meant that its political, cultural, and social history has been shaped

at different times throughout history by powerful influences from all directions. In Pavel Janák's essay "The Prism and the Pyramid," he discusses two major families of European architecture to which Czech architecture belongs: the Classical southern and the Christian north.[195] While Classical architecture focused on rationality and the autonomy of a structure's individual parts, Christian architecture in northern Europe was designed to bring viewers and inhabitants closer to the spiritual realm through extreme verticality and a sense of movement upward. Vladimír Šlapeta point outs that "Prague is probably the most northern city strongly influenced by the Mediterranean tradition, but one in which the Northern tradition is also strongly exhibited."[196] Often throughout Czech history, these two traditions comingled at the same time, leading to innovative mixtures of styles, techniques, and materials. One instance of inventive fusion is the late Gothic and early Renaissance style of royal architect Benedikt Ried (c. 1450-c.1531).[197] His construction of Vladislav Hall in the Royal Palace at Prague Castle (1497-1500) and of the vault in the main nave of the Church of St. Barbara in Kutná Hora (after 1512) exemplify the Czech blend of monumental elements of Renaissance architecture with inventive vaulting, featuring Ried's signature intertwined double-curved ribs unwinding in a network of decorative patterns across a wide, flattened nave **[FIGURE 71-72]**. The result is a sense of movement and

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[195] Pavel Janák, "Hranol a pyramida [The Prism and the Pyramid]," *Umělecký měsíčník* 1, no. 6 (March 1912): 162-170.

[196] Vladimír Šlapeta, "Vienna, Prague, and Berlin, about 1914," in *Czech Cubism, 1909-1925: Art, Architecture, Design*, edited by Jiří Švestka, Tomáš Vlček, and Pavel Liška (Prague: i3 and Modernista, 2006): 89.

[197] See François Burkhardt, "Czech Cubism Today," in *Czech Cubism,* edited by Alexander von Vegesack, 97-98; and Rostislav Švácha and Tat'ana Petrasová, eds., *Art in the Czech Lands, 800-2000* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2017): 72-73, 292-295.

undulation, where curvilinear forms intersect with the linear in contrasting juxtapositions.

Many new monasteries were founded by Roman Catholic orders between the second half of the fifteenth century and early sixteenth century to support the continuity of Catholicism in the face of the ongoing Hussite Reformation. A number of monastery churches in southern Bohemia from this time period feature another locally-inflected and complex architectural system—the diamond vault seen in the monastery in Bechyně and in the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul (1499-1501) about twenty kilometers away in Soběslav **[FIGURES 73-74]**. The prismatic arrangement of sharp edges and beveled planes create a crystalline surface closely resembling the architecture and applied arts of the prewar Czech Cubists. This late Gothic phenomenon occurred in Poland and Austria, as well, as a result of transalpine architects melding their training with already established local styles of the Gothic period. While the Czech Cubists did not incorporate overt references to folk arts and architecture in their designs for housewares or their pre-war architecture, their local built environment and material culture is still palpable in their work, perhaps never more convincingly so than in comparison to the late Gothic diamond vault. Vlastislav Hofman's Cubist lidded box, for example, designed around 1920 for Artěl, looks like it was cast from the mold of a diamond vault **[FIGURE 75]**. Josef Chochol's Cubist buildings feature diamond-vault-like sculptural form across the vertical and horizontal surfaces **[FIGURE 76]**. In the case of Cubist architecture, the ribs and facets are not structurally necessary for the building to stand, but rather use the

manipulation of matter and form, in lieu of applied decoration, to achieve the aesthetic and philosophical goals of the new art.

Another creative combination of local and imported, traditional and new styles occurred in the eighteenth century with the "Baroque Gothic."[198] Many Italians from the lake region of northern Italy were working in the Czech Lands in the early eighteenth century. Jan Blažej Santini-Aichel (1677-1723) was born and died in Prague, but he came from a family of Italian stonemasons, his grandfather having moved from the South Tyrol region of northern Italy to Prague in the 1630s to work on Prague Castle. His work "was a result of the complex situation in post-Reformation Bohemia, where many people viewed the past as the Golden Age of social stability."[199] In his Pilgrimage Church of St. John of Nepomuk (1719-1727) in Žd'ár nad Sázavou on the border of Bohemia and Moravia, Santini-Aichel exploits alternating concave and convex curves into protruding edges around a Baroque floor plan with Gothic pointed arches **[FIGURE 2]**. The Abbey Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary's vault (1712-1726) in Kladruby features a central dome rooted in the contemporary Baroque, but its unusual ceiling harkens back to Ried's flat barrel vaults with curvilinear ribbing fantastically intertwined **[FIGURE 77]**. The dome sits atop the intersection of the nave and transept of a Gothic-style floor plan. In this hybrid style, the tension between linear and curved forms, and the emphasis on dynamic formal arrangements continue to dominate architecture in the Czech lands in

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198 Pavel Kalina, "*In opera gotico unicus*: The Hybrid Architecture of Jan Blažej Santini-Aichl and Patterns of Memory in Post-Reformation Bohemia," *Umění* LVIII, no. 1 (2010): 42-56; and Janák, "Hranol a pyramida [The Prism and the Pyramid]," 169.

199 Kalina, 42.

the eighteenth-century. These examples of hybridity across Czech architectural history demonstrate the continuity of a long-standing Czech tendency by the twentieth-century avant-garde in Prague.[200]

Cubism in the Czech Lands has defied easy analysis or categorization of its imported and local sources and innovations in art historiography.[201] Like much of the region's architectural history, Czech Cubism also exhibited the experimental, universalizing tendency toward assimilation and transformation of multiple stylistic and technical tendencies at once. Expressionism and Cubism were adapted together to novel ends in the new art of prewar Prague. At the same time, architects were commissioned to renovate façades of historical buildings in Bohemia, such as Pavel Janák's reconstruction of the Baroque façade of the Fára House in Pelhřimov, Bohemia (1913) **[FIGURE 78]**. In these endeavors, as well as commissions such as Josef Gočár's new construction of the House of the Black Madonna, the modern architects successfully integrated the dramatically new Cubist style into the diversity of Czech cityscapes with a sensitivity to historical precedents and a continuity with past points of innovation and transformation.

Like Picasso, Braque, and their followers in Paris, Czech Cubists were most concerned with form. They believed:

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[200] This hybridity in architecture and the visual arts is not unique among the nations within Austria-Hungary, as Anthony Alofsin demonstrates in *When Buildings Speak: Architecture as Language in the Habsburg Empire and its Aftermath, 1867-1933* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). However, the hybridity took different forms in different locations of the Empire according to local histories and conditions (geographic, social, political, etc.).

[201] Marie Rakušanová, "Is the Cubism that is Czech also Universal? Czech Art Theory (1921-1958) and Cubism as a Cultural and Transcultural Phenomenon," in *A Reader in East-Central-European Modernism, 1918-1956*, edited by Beáta Hock, Klara Kemp-Welch, and Jonathan Owen, (London: Courtauld Books Online, 2019): 33-52.

> There was a specific approach to a work of art that made it possible to perceive and 'read' works from distant geographical regions and historical periods as one and the same, as a timeless work of art. Their own 'new' art would then be part of this coherent reading and be just as universal as the global works of art. […] For the authors of *Umělecký měsíčník*, the key to access such contrasting and historically as well as contextually very different works of art was form.[202]

Painter Emil Filla theorized in *Umělecký měsíčník* that "the sphere of art is exclusively form. To penetrate a work and to understand it through empirical facts, its subject or what is generally referred to as its content, is impossible […]. Its content is solely its form and expression, [and the artist] lives purely in the sphere of form."[203] However, setting aside the work of Filla, who strove to remain true to the original (French) principles of form art (Cubism), and examining the painting and sculpture of the other Czech Cubists, it is clear that content remains important to their work **[FIGURES 79-81]**. The Czech Cubists did not limit their subjects to geometric still-lifes, landscapes, and portraits. The emotive influence of Symbolism and Expressionism are almost always palpable in Czech Cubism. This extends even into the applied arts, when three-dimensional form is the basis of a utilitarian or decorative object or building. The emotive element comes from the Czech Cubists' fascination with the metaphysical effects of the diagonal plane.

The crystal in particular held special resonance with Cubist architects like Janák, just as it was a point of departure for German Expressionist architects. During the late nineteenth century, the crystal "became a symbol of another, unreal world; its

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[202] Vojtěch Lahoda, "Cubism in Prague as a Form Art?" in *Cubism—Constructivism—Form Art*, edited by Agnes Husslein-Arco and Alexander Klee, (New York: Prestel, 2016): 36.

[203] Emil Filla, "Život a dílo [Life and Work]," *Umělecký měsíčník* 1 (1911-1912): 315, translated in *ibid.*

configuration was the symbol of the spiritual world, it played the role of a mediator in the battle against historicism—it was a symbolic transmitter in the move towards abstraction as the revelation of absolute truth."[204] In essence, the crystal exemplified the concept of the fourth dimension with which Cubists found themselves so enthralled.[205] Alois Riegl (1858-1905), whose theories were influential for Wilhelm Worringer (1881-1965), Otto Wagner (1841-1918) and many of Wagner's pupils, saw crystallization as a cosmic force uniting art and nature, which "constitutes the first and most eternal law of form in inanimate matter, and comes closest to absolute beauty (material individuality)."[206] Cubist architects were especially spellbound by this magnificent anomaly existing in the natural world—the one instance of dead matter "growing" under the extreme forces of nature. The juxtaposition of diagonal, horizontal and vertical planes produced a sense of movement in architectural matter, a plasticity which was enhanced by the play of light and shadow across the multitude of opposing facets. Janák theorized in his highly influential article "The Prism and the Pyramid":

> This ratio between the natural primary shape of stillness and a dramatized shape provides the means by which matter is conquered artistically, since the artist's intentions, although psychologically more complex, are in principle the same as the forces penetrating, permeating and moving natural matter and its natural shape. What we can conclude from it about the nature of artistic creation is this: if dead matter is to be artistically overcome, that is, given

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[204] Lada Hubatová-Vacková, "Crystal and Kaleidoscopic Abstraction: Scientific Photography and Cubist Design," *Centropa* 9, no. 1 (Jan. 2009): 36.

[205] See Linda Dalrymple Henderson, "X Rays and the Quest for Invisible Reality in the Art of Kupka, Duchamp, and the Cubists," *Art Journal* 47, no. 4 (Winter 1988): 323-340; and Henderson, *The Fourth Dimension and Non-Euclidean Geometry in Modern Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983).

[206] Wilhelm Worringer, *Abstraction and Empathy: A Contribution to the Psychology of Style* (New York: International Universities Press, 1953): 19-20.

> spirit so that something happens in it, this occurs by means of a third plane added to the natural biplane shape.[207]

Janák saw nineteenth-century architecture's emphasis on vertical and horizontal components as a capitulation to the "natural law of gravity," and exceptional within the history of Czech architecture.[208] He called for the reintroduction of the diagonal as a return to native impulses that embody "the spirit and will to abstraction that has always been close to our Northern sensibility."[209] Just as the diagonal dramatized the Cuboexpressionist paintings and sculptures of the Czech Cubists, the applied arts and architecture also made extensive use of the diagonal to create crystalline forms. In fact, Czech Cubism was even more effective in three-dimensions than it could ever be in painting. Three-dimensional form held more possibility for the diagonal to be exploited to its full effect, shaping not only the form of architectural matter and designed objects themselves, but in turn the space(s) they occupy.

The unusually strong relationships between architects and painters in the Prague avant-garde, thanks to Skupina and the Mánes Society, fostered the assimilation, amalgamation, and transformation of Cubism and Expressionism to experimental and innovative new ends in the applied arts. It is known through correspondence between Emil Filla and Antonín Procházka that Skupina painters exhibited their work for the first time in Artěl's space, then located at Františkovo

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[207] Pavel Janák, "Hranol a pyramida [The Prism and the Pyramid]," *Umělecký měsíčník* 1, no. 6 (March 1912): 162-170, translated in *Between Worlds: A Sourcebook*, 89.

[208] *Ibid*, 86.

[209] *Ibid*, 88.

nábřezí, before installing their first exhibition in the Municipal House.[210] Given the combination of the close links between painters, sculptors, and applied artists with the strong representation in Skupina by architects and designers, Czech Cubism became largely defined by the applied arts. Pavel Janák wrote an article in 1912, "On the Usefulness of the Applied Arts Industry," in which he proclaimed the contemporary elevation of applied arts to "fine art:"

> Thus, in the past, art was used to make a cushion, a piece of jewelry, etc.; today fine art uses the opportunity presented by a bowl, a tray, etc., to express itself. What we need is an art that is deliberately guided by the will to form, so that it will try out newly emerging perceptions of form and relation as widely as possible […], so that the worth and veracity of form is guaranteed […]. If it is to be an essential component of a style composition, then form must be cleansed to the point of abstraction, i.e. to the final quintessence that is valid in all materials […].[211]

Janák declared: "This artistic activity is being developed in the small arts to help architecture."[212] The popularity of metal and ceramic boxes, vases, and other small receptacles during these years afforded architects and furniture designers affiliated with Artěl a profitable medium in which to try out their formal experiments before translating them into furniture and the facades of their architectural designs.

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[210] Letter from Filla to Procházka in the estate of Antonín Procházka, Muzeum města Brna, Brno, Czech Republic; quoted and translated in Vojtěch Lahoda, "Excursus: Czech Cubist Companies," in *Czech Cubism*, edited by Švestka, et al, 298.

[211] Pavel Janák, "O užitečnosti uměleckého průmyslu [On the Usefulness of the Applied Arts Industry]," *Umělecký měsíčník* I, no. 5 (February 1912): 147-149, translated in Rainald Franz, "Artěl and the Wiener Werkstätte: A Convergence of Ideas," in *Cubism—Constructivism—Form Art*, edited by Agnes Husslein-Arco and Alexander Klee, (New York: Prestel, 2016): 70.

[212] *Ibid*, 148; quoted in Jiří Fronek, "Artěl…jehož historie jest historií odvahy a průkopnictví [Artěl…whose history is a history of pioneering and courage]," in *Artěl: Umění pro všední den 1908-1935*, edited by Fronek, (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2009): 20.

Between 1909 and 1914, Artěl participated annually in the Exhibition of Austrian Arts and Crafts at the Austrian Museum of Applied Arts (MAK). Correspondence archived at the MAK includes product lists sent by Artěl for inclusion in the exhibitions, sale prices, offers to sell products to the museum, and letters updating the museum directors on Artěl's activities. The exhibition lists from the 1909-1910 and the 1911-1912 Winter Exhibitions include a broad variety of Artěl's smaller and cheaper products, such as toys, costume jewelry, painted wooden boxes, and wallets.[213] For the Spring Exhibition in 1912 and the Winter Exhibition in 1913-1914, Artěl sent their more expensive new products in ceramics, metal, and glass. Almost all the products listed in these two exhibition catalogues are by the Artěl men of the Cubist circles—Josef Rosipal, Vlastislav Hofman, Pavel Janák, Rudolf Stockar, and so on.[214] Thus, 1912 represents a significant shift in Artěl's representation in exhibitions abroad, perhaps due to the surge in activity by Skupina.

In 1914, the MAK purchased a substantial collection of Artěl's Cubist ceramics, glass, and metalwork. Correspondence between Artěl and the MAK reflects a full list of items sent and items purchased **[FIGURES 13-14, 38, 82-84]**.[215] In all of these works, the extensive use of curved and rectilinear forms give rise to highly rhythmic surfaces, an effect often heightened by the use of contrasting colors between

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213 Exhibition lists reproduced in Waltraud Neuwirth, "Excursus: Artěl and Vienna," in *Czech Cubism, 1909-1925,* edited by Švestka, et al., 300. Toys generally sold for less than a crown; jewelry for 2-8 crowns; and boxes for 1-4 crowns.

214 *Ibid*. Liqueur sets by Rosipal and Otakar Novotny are priced at 11 crowns; bowls by Rosipal cost 20-25 crowns; vases by Rosipal are listed at 6-20 crowns; and one special bowl by Jan Kotěra was priced at 100 crowns. In 1913 $1 USD was equal to just under 5 crowns.

215 *Ibid*, 301-303.

planes. Janák's earthenware ceramic vases **[FIGURE 38]** and Zig-Zag Coffee Service **[FIGURE 82]** play with corrugated and faceted forms in combination with painted patterns to highlight the rhythmic surfaces. In both examples, Janák created a base form for which he designed various glazing schemes over a period of several years. Intensive use of the black diagonal across white parallel and opposing facets lends an energetic dynamism to the Zig-Zag Coffee Service. The suite of vases also features stark contrasts of black and white glazes to emphasize the rhythmic surfaces of the forms. Rosipal's beer set **[FIGURE 13]** and liqueur service **[FIGURE 83]** are thinly cut in clear glass with colored laminations in elongated triangular patterns, which create the illusion of facets on otherwise smooth surfaces. The thick base of the liqueur glasses and the stopper for the liqueur carafe are cut with crystalline facets to refract light and increase the set's visual interest. Hofman's monumental vase **[FIGURES 14 and 84]** in the form of a pyramid features technically complex fins in the shape of an M on each of the three faces. Highlighted in black or red glaze against the white base, these applied forms lend the surface a sense of drama and movement upward, echoing the facets seen in the Cuboexpressionist painters' and sculptors' works. Again, this selection consists only of the Cubist designers' work—thus, one of the two most significant collections of Artěl's work represents only a limited perspective of the group's oeuvre.[216] Especially at the MAK, that perspective is male, focused on "form art" with little decoration, and stylistically limited to the

[216] The two institutions holding significant collections of Artěl's products are the MAK in Vienna and the UPM in Prague. The UPM's collection is more diverse with holdings by a wider variety of Artěl artists, representing more media and styles.

Cuboexpressionist period between 1911 and 1914. Additionally, these works mark a notable shift in Artěl's inventory from handmade, one-of-a-kind objects to designs the artists sent to manufacturers for production in larger quantities. It is unclear how much, if any, training Janák or Hofman might have had in ceramics. It is more likely that they applied their technical training in architecture to these small forms in order to develop their formal ideas in utilitarian wares that would ideally be mass-produced to bring experimental form art into the average citizens' everyday life at home.

In 1911, Artěl moved into 20 Františkovo nábřeží, occupying the corner house of the riverfront Bellevue building. To help fund the space, they rented out rooms to other arts organizations: "There are artists from Skupina in the rooms at Františkovo nábřeží, and there is an editorial office of the *Umělecký měsíčník*. Pavel Janák is a member of the editorial board. Josef Čapek, V. V. Štech and Karel Langer support the efforts of Artěl, publishing images, writing about them."[217] Artěl also opened a showroom, including a furniture department in the space, which helped increase sales enough to allow for larger-scale production and partnerships with manufacturing companies in Bohemia, including Rydl & Thon (trademarked as Graniton) (ceramics) in northern Bohemia, Antonín Štolba (metal) in Prague, and Ernst Pryl Glasfabrik (glass) in the mountains of eastern Bohemia.[218] Smaller companies manufactured furniture designs for Artěl, including Prinn, Václav Fišna, Jan Stibůrek, and František Glazar. These companies often advertised in artist magazines, such as *Styl* and

[217] Jaroslava Vondráčková, "Artěl," *Tvar [Form]* 19, no. 3 (1968): 69.

[218] Fronek, 20.

Umělecký měsíčník. Vojtěch Lahoda points out that Rydl & Thon, specializing in Art Nouveau façade decoration, fireplace and oven tiling, decorative fountains, and sculpture for cemeteries, advertised only under the owners' names Rydl & Thon, avoiding the use of their trademark Graniton. Lahoda supposes this was meant to distance the "prospering trademark against the thankless task of producing Cubist designs. The management of Graniton may well have been aware of the technical problems that arose in the firing process when Cubist objects were involved, and the poorer quality of these objects was a well-known fact: many articles created for Artěl cracked or leaked."[219] Indeed, Jaroslava Vondráčková, an important member of Artěl after the war, wrote in 1968 that "ceramic vases leaked, and wash basins were permeable to water. The glaze of tea services dissolved. The corrugated vases by Janák and Hofman have a base that is too narrow, they tip over easily. The textiles were not colorfast, and the colors were sometimes over-chlorinated, so that fabrics fell apart after the first cleaning."[220] At the same time, Lahoda further posits that "these companies considered filling commissions for Artěl something like a service to the Czech nation, a contribution to the aesthetic cultivation of the public by introducing Modern forms and shapes into objects of everyday use," although no evidence is cited to support this idea.[221] It is probably more likely that these manufacturing companies

[219] Vojtěch Lahoda, "Excursus: Czech Cubist Companies," in *Czech Cubism*, edited by Švestka, et al., 298.

[220] Vondráčková, 71.

[221] Lahoda, "Excursus," 298.

worked with Artěl simply for the financial gains without much understanding of the group's mission nor of the new art.

These prewar years of increasing notoriety and financial success, as well as extensive artistic exchange and collaboration across artists groups, brought many new members into Artěl's fold: architects and designers Otakar Novotný, Josef Rosipal, Rudolf Stockar, sculptors Stanislav Sucharda and Jan Štursa, and others. Members' success also led to the creation of new artistic ventures—Janák finally founded in 1912 the longed-for Pražské umělecké dílny [Prague Art Workshops] (PUD) (1912-19) with architects Josef Gočár and Josef Chochol and financier Odolen Grégr. The company had three workshops—cabinet-making, upholstery, and metalworking. Their focus was made-to-order furniture design, all of which exhibited the members' Cuboexpressionist experimental style **[FIGURES 85-87]**. The attention to the use of the diagonal plane in the furniture's surfaces creates wildly unusual forms never seen before in European furniture design. The pieces' smooth surfaces and intersecting planes engage a rhythmic play of light and shadow for the viewer's eye. In contrast to Artěl's early designs, in which decoration is applied to the surface, Cubist works use the form itself to create visual interest. Janák wrote in 1912, "just as Cubist painting attained a new conception of the pictured object by moving its axes, by altering the angle of vision, by carrying depth relationships forward onto the surface, so the surface of a piece of furniture was to express the inner development of its forms. Deeper-lying movements were to shape the planes of the furniture; the whole piece

was to stand as an ornament in the room."[222] The group's mission statement in 1912 declared that "furniture should be a true art object with an essential artistic expression."[223] Jana Horneková translates the group's manifesto:

> It is the artistic aspect that made us start this enterprise and that will be its principal concern. […] all the work is carried out by carefully selected workers using excellent machinery under the supervision of artists. […] though we will make luxury furniture, the PUD's main output will be furniture for everyday use (custom made for each customer's needs and circumstances) as well as standardized furniture for the home and office, but even that, while practical and inexpensive, will always be strictly artistic.[224]

Like the Cubist products designed for Artěl, the PUD's furniture designs would ultimately remain too expensive for the average Czech citizen. The group created custom designs for wealthy patrons and never reached a point of creating "inexpensive," "standardized furniture for the home and office." Unfortunately, also like the Cubist ceramics and glassware designed for Artěl, the PUD's furniture designs proved difficult to manufacture without compromising the integrity of the objects as load-bearing chairs and tables. Due to the many angles and surface breaks in the designs, traditional joiners' techniques for wooden furniture often did not suffice. Metal parts had to be used to support the zig-zag frames.[225] Vera J. Behal posits, "Janák was aware of these problems: his not respecting the materials, as well as exceeding existing construction possibilities, were intended deliberately. The

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[222] Pavel Janák, "O nábytku a jiném [On Furniture and Other Things]," *Umělecký měsíčník* 2, no. 1 (November 1912): 21-29.

[223] Author unnamed, *Umělecký měsíčník* 1, no. 8 (1912): unpag.

[224] *Ibid*; translated in Jana Horneková, "Artěl, the PUD, and the SČSD," in *Czech Cubism*, edited by Švestka, et al., 289.

[225] Olga Herbenová, "Czech Furniture from 1911-1915 in the Collection of the Arts and Crafts Museum in Prague," in *Acta UPM* VIII (1973).

Cubist architects followed a purely artistic vision, and the Prague Art Workshops [PUD] stood in the service of this vision."[226] Indeed, Janák wrote in his article, "Renewal of the Façade," that "architecture is a matter of form, not of function or materials," and his stance that function should not determine form extended to furniture design as well.[227] Despite these shortcomings, the PUD did successfully attract the first spate of opportunities for larger-scale commissions for Artěl designers, which they had sought from the group's founding in 1908. They designed numerous furniture suites for dining rooms, bedrooms, studies, and sitting rooms for prominent Czech actors, financiers, doctors, and other wealthy persons interested in the latest interior designs. The PUD's activity would continue after the war into the 1920s.

Czech Applied Arts at the Werkbund Exhibition in Cologne

Jan Kotěra led initiatives to involve Czech applied artists in the 1914 Werkbund Exhibition in Cologne. It was a hard sell, given rising anti-Czech sentiment in Vienna at the time. Christopher Long attributes this to the large influx of immigration of Czechs to Vienna, as well as the Komenský School controversies, which concerned whether Czech could be used as the language of instruction in private schools.[228] Kotěra ultimately convinced the Austrian delegates involved in the

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[226] Vera J. Behal, "Czech Cubism in Arts and Crafts 'Artěl—Studio for the Plastic Arts in Prague' and the 'Prague Art Workshop," in *Kosmas* 17 (1988): 155-173.

[227] Pavel Janák, "Obnova průčelí [Renewal of the Façade]," *Umělecký měsíčník* 2, no. 3 (1913): 86.

[228] Christopher Long, "'A Symptom of the Werkbund': The Spring 1912 Exhibition at the Austrian Museum for Art and Industry, Vienna" *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 7, no. 2 (2000): 119. In 1911,

organization of the Austro-Hungarian submissions to allow the Czechs to organize their own exhibition within the Austrian Pavilion. To prove the legitimacy of this request and to give the organizers assurance, Kotěra established the Svaz českého díla [Czech Werkbund] (SČD) (1914-1920), a corporation based on the German Werkbund.[229] Kotěra, Novotný, and architect and painter Jiří Stibral (1859-1939) led the new organization. Many members of Artěl, active in the same artistic and academic circles as Kotěra, became members of the Svaz, which was an unincorporated artist association and primarily conceived to serve its members with networking and exhibition opportunities. When the exhibition opened in May, products by members of Artěl, the PUD, and the SČD, including many items manufactured by Czech ceramics, glass, and carpentry firms were put on display in two gallery spaces designed by Otakar Novotný and decorated by František Kysela. One space was reserved for Artěl and the PUD, while a separate hall was used by the SČD **[FIGURES 88-89]**. The Czech galleries exhibit Skupina's trademark forms, making heavy use of the diagonal to give crystalline shape to the room itself, the display cases, and the items held within. In the Svaz Českého Díla's room, one might imagine they have been transported inside a huge crystal. Decorative, stylized floral and geometric patterns cover the floor and the upper registers of the walls. The mixture of busy patterns continues in Gočár's room for Artěl and the PUD, from

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the leader of Vienna's Christian Social Party ordered the closure of a newly established Komenský School in Vienna, which encouraged large anti-Czech protests.

[229] Otakar Novotný, "Počátky Svazu českého díla," *Věci a lidé* 1 (1947-1948): 280. After the war, the SČD was renamed as the Svaz československého díla (SČSD) (1920-1948) to reflect the new Czechoslovak Republic.

Kysela's wallpaper design and carpet to Gočár's upholstered sofa. Crystalline furniture forms surround the room and carry the viewer's eye upward to Gočár's dramatic "Rain and Lighting" chandelier (1913) suspended from the vaulted ceiling. The overall effect of the Czech galleries is a *gesamtkunstwerk* of the diagonal form.

The Wiener Werkstätte also exhibited in their own galleries **[FIGURES 90-91]**. The Werkstätte fashion showroom is lined with fashion postcards and a display case holding women's reform clothing and a small selection of household items. In stark contrast to the Czech galleries, both pictured spaces are sparsely furnished and do not attempt to show off the entire range of the Werkstätte's products. The sizes of the rooms appear to dwarf the spaces allotted to the Czechs. The exhibition came at a turning point for the Wiener Werkstätte, whose original financier, industrialist Fritz Waerndorfer (1868-1939), had just severed ties with the organization. The Werkbund exhibition offered an opportunity to gain new patrons and financial support; however, the outbreak of war that summer would prevent the Wiener Werkstätte, as well as Artěl, the PUD, and the Svaz Českého Díla from capitalizing on their success and newfound international interest in Cologne.

The First World War abruptly interrupted the exhibition in early August, over two months early, and the exhibition buildings were quickly dismantled. Objects on display were sent back to Prague in boxes without packing materials, destroying most in transit.[230] The Czech Cubists made a significant impression on some members of the

[230] Fronek, 21.

German Werkbund. Wilhelm Schäfer praised the work of the PUD and Josef Gočár in particular:

> In a side hall is a room by Josef Gočár in Prague, who is the only one in the entire Werkbund exhibition who tries to use furniture to test the latest knowledge that Cubism has introduced to painting. Apart from some embroidery by Cesar Klein that is in the main hall, I saw nowhere else as a consistent attempt to deal with these new problems. As strange as anything that is not strange to us, these bizarre cupboards and chairs look at us, […] and maybe show us the beginning of a new style.[231]

Architect Walter Curt Behrendt wrote, "The juices of the applied arts in Germany could probably be made to flow again and their pulse quickened if the Slav nations devoted their unconsumed powers to non-Slav applied arts. The tempestuous exhibition of the Czech Werkbund demonstrates that there is great ferment here."[232] This is hardly a glowing review of the Czech Cubists, but it expresses the shock their experiments with form gave German and Austrian viewers. The unforgettable impression of Czech Cubist applied arts trademarked a style of Czech modernism for international audiences.

Artěl During the First World War

Due to financial hardships during the war, Artěl moved in 1915 to 6 Martinské Street in the Old Town Hall, and again in 1916 to the very commercial street of Národní třída (no. 18), where it would finally rest for more than a few years. The

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231 Wilhelm Schäfer, "Die Deutsche Werkbund-Ausstellung in Köln," in *Die Rheinlande: Monatsschrift für deutsche Kunst und Dichtung* 8/9 (1914): 285.

232 Walter Curt Behrendt, "Die Deutsche Werkbund-Ausstellung in Cöln," *Kunst und Künstler* XII (1914): 617; translated in Šlapeta, "Vienna, Prague, and Berlin, about 1914," in *Czech Cubism*, edited by Švestka, et al., 90.

company's future remained very uncertain during the war years, to which Artěl's wartime director, Rudolf Stockar, made frequent reference in his correspondence with the directors of the Museum of Applied Arts (MAK) in Vienna. Stockar informed the museum director in 1914 that they would be unable to purchase velvet for that year's exhibition, given the expenses incurred to send items for entry.[233] Additionally, the glassworks company that produced most of Artěl's work could no longer accept orders. In 1915, Stockar reached out to the museum to solicit its help in locating companies in Vienna who might be interested in selling Artěl's glassware, as the war had diminished commercial sales in Prague. Artěl's sales at the Viennese exhibitions were relatively negligible—in 1911, they recorded 501 crowns in earnings, while the Wiener Werkstätte brought in earnings in the thousands.[234] In 1915, Artěl placed 27th in the list of top earners, taking home only 92 crowns. The group did, however, receive subsidies from the Austrian Ministry of Public Works, thanks in part to their continued participation in these exhibitions.[235] Furthermore, Artěl participated in the Benefit Exhibition of Czech Artists in 1915, organized to support artists and journalists suffering from the wartime financial crisis. Other limited wartime opportunities arose, such as the 1916 glass exhibition at the MAK, where Josef Rosipal exhibited his Cubist designs **[FIGURES 13, 83]**. Other Artěl artists, including Jan Kotěra, Otakar Novotný, and Jaroslav Horejc, also exhibited their glassware, none of which exhibits a Cubist style. In the material that has the most

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[233] Fronek, 24.

[234] Waltraud Neuwirth, "Artěl and Vienna," in *Czech Cubism*, edited by Švestka, et al., 306.

[235] *Ibid.*

crystalline potential of all materials used by the Czech Cubist designers, the formal experiments in glass were less dramatic than in other materials. Given its fragility and the importance of functionality in glassware, the Cubist, crystalline elements of Rosipal's work were often brought forward through surface decoration more than in especially inventive forms. However, Rosipal applied patterns of diagonal and diamond shapes to stylish drinking and serving vessels, while drawing upon a long tradition of technical innovations in Bohemian glassware.

Perhaps the most important wartime development by Artěl was its establishment in 1916 of an "Advisory Center for Art, Interior Furnishing and Decoration," headed by Stockar and new member Ladislav Machoň (1888-1973), where customers could speak with consultants and see works of art and interior design by Skupina, Artěl, and the PUD.[236] This expansion of services helped Artěl work toward its goal to achieve large-scale commissions. While the war was economically difficult for everyone, took many artists to the front, and limited international exhibiting opportunities, Artěl's work received increased demand soon after the war's end. Vondráčková attributes this to patriotism, writing in 1968, "It's all so Czech! So in spite of Austria."[237] The call for applied artists and architects to create a specifically Czech national style would only intensify as the war came to an end and a new political era emerged.

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[236] Behal, 163.

[237] Vondráčková, 72.

In May 1918, at the Board of Trustees meeting, Artěl began planning for a retrospective exhibition for its tenth anniversary that fall. The exhibition would be an opportunity to reflect on the group's progress and contributions to the development of a modern Czech arts industry and to look forward in new directions. By the time the exhibition opened in November, fortuitous events renewed hope and excitement for an even greater future ahead. The war had ended, and the creation of the First Czechoslovak Republic was announced. Hofman's text "Where is Artěl Headed?," which accompanied the exhibition, declared a desire and need for state support of Artěl and its goals.[238] He expresses the ongoing need to set up workshops for each industry within Artěl's purview, which would bring the organization a unity of spirit. Acknowledging the fact that Artěl's designs proved too costly to produce for anyone but the wealthy, Hofman renews Artěl's promise to produce simple, more practical products and develop a democratic arts industry for the new state.

Women on the Sidelines

With the prewar and wartime success of the crystalline, geometric Cubist ceramics, glass, and metalwork, the women artists associated with Artěl did not receive as much attention. Little is known about their activities during these years, overshadowed as they were by the innovative and radical Cubist buildings popping up in Prague—all built by male architects, several of whom were Artěl members.

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[238] Vlastislav Hofman, "Kam směřuje Artěl? Úvod k výstavě, 1908-1918 [Where is Artěl Headed? Introduction to the Exhibition, 1908-1918]," in *Jubilejní výstava umělecko-průmyslových prací Artěle atelierů pro výtvarnou práci v Praze, spojená s výstavou prací z jubilejní soutěže Artěle v Umělecko-průmyslovém museu v Praze. Od 20. listopadu do 31. prosince 1918* (Prague, 1918): 1-2.

Thomas Ort treats the incontrovertible fact that men dominated the Cubist movement in Prague in his article, "Cubism's Sex: Masculinity and Czech Modernism, 1911-1914."[239] Ort argues that Czech Cubism was conceptualized as a masculine reaction to the perceived femininity of the Secession and that "among its Czech practitioners and advocates, the style [cubism] was conceived in highly gendered terms. To put it simply, cubism had a sex and it was male [… and] they made a point of their masculinity."[240] This would seem born out in the fact that there are no women artists among Artěl who have any association with the Cubist style. All the Cubist furniture, boxes, vases, and glassware among Artěl's inventory were designed by men. Cubist architects and designers of Artěl were literally building the new world they imagined, while the women designers of Artěl only decorated it. Even perhaps the one exception, Marie Teinitzerová, whose carpet designs **[FIGURES 47-48, 92]** featuring geometric patterns and extensive use of the diagonal might have paired well with the furniture suites designs by the PUD, did not alter the skeleton of the built environment to make new form. Graphics and textile artist František Kysela was instead the seeming sole contributor of upholstery, wallpaper, and carpets to the Skupina and PUD exhibitions and interior design suites **[FIGURES 49, 88]**. Ultimately, the training opportunities for women at arts and applied arts school were still limited to a specific set of media, which did not include metalworking, glassblowing, or architecture. Exclusion from such programs meant exclusion from

[239] Thomas Ort, "Cubism's Sex: Masculinity and Czech Modernism, 1911-1914," *Austrian History Yearbook* 44 (2013): 175-194.

[240] *Ibid*, 176.

the entire conversation about form happening across the Prague avant-garde between 1910 and 1914. It would take another generation of women, some of whom trained in newly co-ed institutions, to penetrate the male-dominated sphere of architecture.[241]

This gender division in modernist design was not limited to Prague or the Czechs of course. At the 1914 Werkbund Exhibition in Cologne, women designers were invited to participate in a pavilion of their own, separate from all the national pavilions that made up the rest of the exhibition grounds.[242] The Haus der Frau, designed by Berliner architect Margarete Knüppelholz-Roeser (1886-1949), included about 30 galleries divided by artistic medium **[FIGURE 93]**. Indeed, the German Werkbund was founded in 1907 in order "to save German culture from bric-a-brac," which Despina Stratigakos argues is a gendered notion of the state of German design at the time.[243] Hoping to counteract the misogynist rhetoric about women's dilettantism; their suitability only for handwork, not for intellectual creativity; and their propensity for superficial and excessive decoration, the Haus der Frau was starkly rectilinear and mostly unornamented. Despite the Werkbund women's

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[241] *Ibid*, 190-192. Ort points to the widespread use of the concept of penetration in the writings of male Cubists to refer to the revolution they intended to create in the world around them. He writes, "'Penetration' was the recognition that human beings were the authors of the rules, boundaries, and values that circumscribed their activity. It was the way in which, through their activity in the world, through their 'penetration' of it, human beings had created the forms of life that enabled their own existence within it" (191).

[242] Despina Stratigakos, "Women and the Werkbund: Gender Politics and German Design Reform, 1907-14," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 4 (2003): 499-506.

[243] *Ibid*, 490. Women's membership in the German Werkbund ranged from about 5-8% of the total membership between 1910 and 1913. Across Artěl's history, the total percentage of women among known affiliates is about 27%. It should be noted that "membership" is used loosely throughout this dissertation to signal artists' affiliations with the Artěl Cooperative. Existing documentation about the group does not suggest a formal membership process or list. It is thus difficult to determine any timeline for each affiliate's association with Artěl.

adherence to all aspects of the Werkbund's mission, many critics' reactions to the Haus der Frau were scathing admonishments of the lack of "feminine grace"[244] or originality. Ultimately the women were held to an impossible, paradoxical standard and automatically disqualified, on the basis of gender, from acceptance by the Werkbund [and society at large] as legitimate designers and architects.

While women were largely excluded from international exhibiting activities, the Skupina, and the PUD between 1911 and the First World War, Artěl's women designers were not inactive in the art scene during this period, nor did they cease to sell their wares through Artěl. V. V. Štech reviewed the 1911 Christmas Exhibition held at the UPM and praised only the work of Artěl's two women founders, Marie Teinitzerová and Helena Johnová:

> The Christmas exhibition of the Museum of Decorative Arts this year lacks a decisive and conscious will of modern art to operate in a single […] direction. It does not have a leading architect or a certain standard below which it is impossible to go. That is why it is overcrowded with dilettante attempts and factory tastes […] out of this misery, only the collections of two ladies, Helena Johnová's ceramics and Marie Teinitzerová's fabrics and prints, demonstrate the energy to overcome the curse of the paper education of our art schools and its mindless stylization. Contact with the material and elaborate craftsmanship have resulted in several distinctive and fresh pieces. With a good sense of the limitations of ornamentation in the contemporary art industry, they will construct productive possibilities and new abilities in the form of molded material.[245]

Umělecký měsíčník included an example of one of Helena Johnová's exhibited designs—a candlestick in fired clay **[FIGURE 94]**. Vastly different in style from the

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[244] Joseph Löttgen, "Von der deutschen Werkbundausstellung in Köln. Das Haus der Frau," *Deutsche Bauhütte* 18, no. 29 (1914): 355.

[245] V. V. Štech, "Vánoční výstava Umělecko-průmyslového musea [Christmas Exhibition of the Museum of Decorative Arts]," *Umělecký měsíčník* 2, no. 2 (December 1912): 68.

Cubists' crystalline forms, Johnová's ceramics still show a primary interest in form, which Štech found so promising. Devoid of applied surface decoration, Johnová shows off her technical skill and individual artistic expression through the cascade of bulbous clay forms, laced with cut-outs to lighten the visual and physical weight of the overall piece.

Little written or photographic evidence of women's exhibitions remains, but Artěl's women designers participated in at least two shows related to fashion and clothing in the years before and during the First World War. In the fall of 1913, the Czech Women's Club in Prague held an exhibition of women's reform clothing at the Municipal House, featuring designs by Artěl's women founders, Teinitzerová and Johnová.[246] Reform clothing did not play as important a role in the Czech avant-garde or Artěl as it did during the Vienna Secession and among the Wiener Werkstätte. The small Czech domestic industry for modern clothing in the prewar era was more of a studio craft limited to a few workshops and practicing craftswomen, such as Marie Teinitzerová's workshops and her students. In contrast to the Wiener Werkstätte's reform clothing, with its early interest in the free-flowing shapes of Ancient Greek and Roman clothing and its later linear, Secession-style patterns on sleek A-line cuts, often with Empire waists **[FIGURES 95-96]**, Artěl's inspiration for modern dress came from Slavic folk clothing **[FIGURE 97]**. As is true of their designs for household items and interior décor, clothing designers did not merely copy

[246] Fronek, 21; *Výstava krojů a obleků a jich součástí lidových i městských, starých i nových (kat. výst.) [Exhibition of Folk Costume and Suits and their Elements, Folk and Urban, Old and New (exh. cat.)]* (Prague: Obecní dům, 1915).

ethnographic examples of folk dress. Instead, they adapted certain proportions and cuts from traditional Slavic clothing styles to create new, simple shapes decorated in folk-inspired colors and materials.[247] The result became known as the "svérázová móda" [peculiar (or quirky) style]. In 1916, the UPM hosted an exhibition of Marie Teinitzerová's work, in which she presented her clothing designs for the first time **[FIGURE 98]**. A few dresses made of hand-woven fabrics and hand-dyed silk and batik exemplify the "peculiar style." The cuts of women's folk clothing were easily adapted to the concept of reform dress in the early twentieth century, since Slavic folk clothing was always corset-less. Worn by the peasantry for village and rural life, folk clothing demanded room for free movement associated with domestic and farm labor. The resulting modern interpretations likewise allowed for the body to move freely and easily in accordance with reform dress for women in the early twentieth century. At the same time, the embroidery and patterns signaled a connection to folk heritage and set Czech prewar modern clothing design apart from stylistic developments in Western European capitals.

The abrupt change during the immediate prewar period in women's participation and status in Artěl and the avant-garde applied arts circles would prove short-lived. While the male designers and architects became hyper-focused on developing the new art through formal experiments in media that had long-excluded women, the women designers continued Artěl's earlier work to make affordable designs for the everyday citizen. As the political situation of the Czechs dramatically

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[247] Eva Uchalová, "Oděvy [Clothing]," in *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935*, edited by Fronek, (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2009): 287.

shifted in the postwar period, the Cubist designers affiliated with Artěl shifted their work back toward a democratizing ideal and found themselves in great need of women's contributions again.

The Birth of the Czechoslovak State

As the First World War came to an end, Czechs were living in a whole new world. The First Czechoslovak Republic's independence was declared on October 28, 1918 by the Czechoslovak National Council in Prague, and a provisional constitution was adopted on November 13 of the same year.[248] Thus, part of Artěl's prewar driving force was now satisfied; however, war had had a devastating effect on production, and the task to revive strong craftsmanship and develop a market for domestic products remained. In 1918, Karel Čapek published a response to the Jubilee Exhibition of Artěl's work at the UPM in the first volume of *Cesta* magazine.[249] He summarizes the first decade of Artěl's existence, lamenting the four years lost to war,

[248] It was not until February 1920 that the Czechoslovak Constitution of 1920 was officially adopted, and boundaries of the new state were set. The Republic contained the regions of Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, and parts of Silesia and Carpathian Ruthenia. According to the 1921 ethnonational census, Czechoslovaks made up 8.7 million of the 13.4 million people within Czechoslovakia's borders. Germans accounted for 3.1 million, while 745,000 Hungarians, 461,000 Rusyns, 180,000 Jews, and 238,000 people identifying with other ethnic minorities became Czechoslovak citizens. These numbers are likely inaccurate, as there was fear of discrimination and retribution in some regions, if national and ethnic minorities did not identify as Czechoslovak. For example, it is likely that the Jewish population was about 365,000, but many Jews listed their nationality as Czechoslovak in the census. Bohemia was the most populous region of the First Republic, with 6.6 million inhabitants. The primarily Slovak-speaking region follows with 3 million, and Moravia counted 2.6 million people. Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia in the far eastern lands of Czechoslovakia, was made up primarily of Rusyn or Ruthenian highlanders, who speak the East Slavic language Rusyn and follow an Eastern Orthodox form of Christianity.

[249] Karel Čapek, "Jubilee Exhibition 'Artěl' (At the Museum of Applied Arts)," *Cesta* 1 (1918-1921): 743-745.

when "there was not enough labor, there was not enough materials, and so on the whole the production was in small quantities of items like jewelry and boxes."[250] He gives Artěl the "warmest congratulations" for producing that which does not get produced anywhere else—items of a higher standard than the majority of products found in a typical household, which he derides as foreign (mostly German) and tasteless commodities of inferior craftsmanship and material. Interestingly, Čapek gives Artěl a new nationalistic task, moving on from the rediscovery and cultivation of a popular Czech national culture to ensuring the economic sustainability of the nation going forward:

> Now we must in every respect stand on our own feet, and not perhaps for reasons of national pride, but for the economic security of the nation. We do not produce enough raw materials in order to live independently. We are forced to live on industrial products of domestic materials and foreign ready-made (half-completed) goods. Our treasures are not underground or above ground, but in our hands, in our work, in the excellence and skills of our craft production.[251]

To Čapek, "national spirit is not in the salons of avant-garde invention, but it is in the fact that even the poorest object of our furnishings carries a mark of good handicraft work."[252] He describes the fatal flaw of all arts and crafts movements across Europe when he asks:

> What is the point of creating a pleasing and expensive vase for ten people if tens of thousands of people are buying ugly, cheap foreign ones in "Parisian" shops? What is the point of designing utensils for 300 crowns if German factories are producing hundreds of thousands of disgusting cups with the

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[250] *Ibid,* 744.

[251] *Ibid.*

[252] *Ibid,* 744-745.

> inscriptions "Wohl bekomm's [Welcome]" and "Zur Erinnerung [To the memory]" for Czech households? One has to begin from an entirely different standpoint: It is necessary to engage the great industry to cooperate with artists, and it is necessary to ask artists to embrace factory production in their invention.[253]

He argues that a mug designed by Hofman would not be less valuable or significant, if it were produced by the thousands in industry—on the contrary, it would be prettier, because beauty not only requires an inventive artist, but also a technically perfect industry. Ultimately, he laments that Artěl never thought of this in the prewar era.

Also in 1918, Pavel Janák wrote a piece for the arts journal *Umění* called "10 Years of Artěl," in which he proclaimed Artěl's importance to the development of modern applied arts over the previous decade: "Artěl serves […] the research in the area of arts and crafts—and if it creates new values, if it keeps a creative spirit alive and gives precedence to the [artistic] striving over utilitarian production, then it will have fulfilled its task within the larger culture and will have worked to the benefit of this culture."[254] Janák also lamented, like Čapek, that the Czech applied arts industry has still not matured; but he maintained hope for its possibilities in the new era of the Czechoslovak state.[255] He sees Artěl's contemporary value going forward in the contribution of the group to applied arts and industrial experimentation: "Artěl, at its best, contributes to research in arts industry and brings value here if it maintains the

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[253] *Ibid*, 744.

[254] Pavel Janák, "10 let Artělů," *Umění* I (1918): 253-254; translated in Vera J. Behal, "Czech Cubism in Arts and Crafts," 164.

[255] Janák, "10 let Artělů," 253.

spirit of creating and searching for more than general utility, by putting on the market items that are of little utilitarian use, […] it fills its place in the cultural sphere, working to society's spiritual benefit."[256]

As many members of Artěl turned toward experimental design in 1911 through the First World War, the group diverged from its original mission, which was so socially oriented. The formal extremes of Cubist designs could not be mass-manufactured at an affordable price and thus could not help bring high-quality craftsmanship and modern taste into the homes of the everyday Czech citizen. However, this period did play an important role in the development of a Czech national modernism. The Czech Cubists created an ultramodern, visual Czech brand that, even while it remained out of reach of the average Czech household, was visible on the streets of Prague. In that respect, the public became more familiar with Czech Cubism than perhaps it did in other centers of Cubism in Europe. The ultramodern formal dynamism of these buildings, echoing that of the furniture and interior decor they contained was remarkably different than any other nation's applied arts and architecture at the time. Thanks to exhibitions and sales abroad, as well as the circulation of images in international arts journals, the Czech Cubists trademarked their new art as fundamentally and singularly Czech.

[256] *Ibid,* 254.

Chapter 3: The Czech National Style: Marketing the Czech Nation at Home and Abroad (1918-1925)

> We do not know yet what the true shape and spaciousness of the Czech room is, what interior layout agrees with the nature of Czech family life. […] What should the Czech family house be like? […] What is a modern apartment house? It is therefore monstrous and so foreign in our cities that we do not have the type for it. How to organize a garden according to the Czech spirit, for which almost nothing has been preserved from the old tradition, and which we urgently need to have? What about collective housing? We are faced with an unresolved but not yet begun big question: the Czech city. […] Straight or curved streets? What shape of the square would be the right space for Czech public life? Etc., etc. […] And yet there is great air above the Czech soil, willing to accept new distinctive contours. […] Let each of us lay our heads in our hands before thinking of working, and think as seriously and profoundly as possible, what corresponds to our spirit most closely. –Pavel Janák, *Volné směry*, 1918[257]

With the end of World War I and the creation of the First Czechoslovak Republic in late 1918—the first autonomous Czech government since perhaps the fifteenth century[258]—there was much reason for hope and excitement; however, the first few years of the postwar era were a tough transition period into the new democratic republic, marked by economic depression, unemployment, war in Slovakia, and distrust of the new state institutions.[259] The newly carved multinational,

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[257] Pavel Janák, "Ve třetině cesty [A Third of the Way]," *Volné směry* 19 (1918): 226.

[258] The history of the Bohemian crown lands is a complicated narrative of foreign alliances and rulers, which make it difficult to define or date Czech autonomy. The Luxembourg dynasty of Charles IV (1316-1378) saw the Czech "Golden Age" of the Kingdom of Bohemia, which lasted until 1470, when the Polish Jagiellon dynasty began their rule in the Czech lands. They were followed by the Habsburgs in 1526 for almost four hundred years.

[259] Claire Morelon, "State Legitimacy and Continuity between the Habsburg Empire and Czechoslovakia: The 1918 Transition in Prague," in *Embers of Empire: Continuity and Rupture in*

polyglot country of around 13.5 million inhabitants, which comprised Czechoslovaks (65%), Germans (23%), Hungarians (5.5%), Rusyns (3%), Jews (1%), and others (<2%), presented a challenge for the first Czechoslovak president Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk to unify under expressly Czech leadership centralized in Prague.[260] The new state encompassed 70-80% of Habsburg Austria's industry, which offered much potential for economic prosperity, but the post-war economic crisis would prevent Czechoslovakia from fully taking advantage of these resources until the early 1920s. While the prewar elite in Bohemia was comprised of many long-established wealthy German families and a largely Jewish upper middle class, a substantial proportion of the postwar Czech upper crust emerged from the lower classes. State institutions such as the army, civil service, and the diplomatic corps "were to an unusual extent occupied by people from academia, the arts, and the communications media."[261] New cafes, restaurants, beer halls, theaters, and social clubs flourished, where the avant-garde regularly met as they developed an original visual and material culture for an

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the Habsburg Successor States after 1918, edited by Paul Miller and Claire Morelon (New York: Berghahn, 2019): 43-63.

[260] The given percentages of the total population are found in the 1921 census, which reflects the boundaries of the First Czechoslovak Republic after the Czechoslovak Constitution was signed in 1920. "Czechoslovak" was a new national identity created by the First Republic, which combined Czechs and Slovaks into one nationality based primarily on linguistic similarities. Creating this new fictive category allowed for a Czechoslovak majority in the new state. The history of the two nations had followed quite different paths under the influence and/or control of different regional powers. The Slovaks had been part of the Hungarian realm of the Dual Monarchy (1867-1918) and part of the Kingdom of Hungary since the eleventh century. As Slavic inhabitants of a non-Slavic kingdom for almost a millennium in an agricultural land lacking the industry of Bohemia, Slovak culture was not as westward-oriented nor industrialized as their new Czech compatriots. Thus, there was a power differential from the beginning of the new Czechoslovak Republic, which led to an emphasis on and privileging of Czech culture and [willful?] ignorance of Slovak culture.

[261] Viktor Šlajchrt, "A Century of Great Change," in *Prague Fashion Houses, 1900-1948*, edited by Eva Uchalová (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2011): 27.

exciting new chapter in Czech history. Like the Arts and Crafts and Cuboexpressionist movements in the prewar era, the new style would engage with both international trends and historical and contemporary Czech culture.

Design in Service of the State: Cultivating a National Democratic Style

If the passion for Czech nationalism had waned among avant-garde artists in the prewar years, it was reinvigorated by the war and the founding of the First Czechoslovak Republic. Artists were called upon by the state to contribute to their nation's immediate needs—banknotes, stamps, pavilions and exhibits at international world's fairs. Members of Artěl rose to the occasion—František Kysela, for example, designed the fifty-crown banknote, as well as coats of arms for Czechoslovakia **[FIGURES 99-100]**. Pavel Janák called for a new Czech typeface to accommodate diacritical marks, which foreign typeface designers never considered.[262] Jaroslav Benda responded to this appeal with a typeface characterized by rounded forms with stylized serifs **[FIGURE 101]**, variations of which were used on the five- and twenty-crown banknotes, as well as in many graphics produced for the Svaz československého díla [Czechoslovak Werkbund] (SČSD)—renamed after the war to reflect the new joint republic—and affiliated artist groups **[FIGURES 102-103]**.[263]

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[262] Národní technické museum archives, text of an unpublished lecture by Pavel Janák, "The Work of J. Benda, V. H. Brunner, and F. Kysela," (Prague: UPM, February 13, 1921), quoted in Vendula Hnídková, "Rondocubism versus National Style," *RIHA Journal* 0011 (8 November 2010), URL: https://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2010/hnidkova-rondocubism-versus-national-style. Originally published as "Rondokubismus versus národní styl," *Umění* 57, no. 1 (2009): 74-84, 112.

[263] Petra Dočekalová, et al., *Jaroslav Benda, 1882-1970: Typografická úprava a písmo [Typographic Layout and Font]* (Prague: UMPRUM, 2019).

These commissions were facilitated through the important positions many prewar avant-garde artists now held in institutions for higher arts education, as well as in public administration. Art historians Zdeněk Wirth (1878-1961) and V. V. Štech were both appointed to the Ministry of Education and National Culture. They helped pass a new law in 1920 requiring the approval of the Ministry for any works of art used in the visual representation of the Czechoslovak state or paid for using state funds. While this kind of requirement at different point in history has been a tactic used by totalitarian governments to control the arts and quell avant-garde ideas and experimentation, in the new postwar Czechoslovakia, the Ministry favored modern trends and encouraged the search for a brand-new democratic style that would justify the nation's existence to international audiences. Through a modern interpretation of the "unique character of Czechoslovak art," past and present, the avant-garde sought to simultaneously demonstrate the new state's long cultural history and its modernity in the present day.[264] The Ministry's requirement led to many opportunities for members of Artěl and the SČSD to take part in official state commissions for public institutions in Prague and across the new nation.

The Development of the Czech National Style Known as "Rondocubism"

Many of the same architects and designers who developed the prewar Cubist style in the applied arts continued after the war to experiment with their theories in three-dimensional form, but they were working within and responding to a very

[264] Hnídková, "Rondocubism versus National Style."

different social and political climate. Perhaps it was the call to action by the Czechoslovak state that tempered the dramatic crystalline forms of their prewar experiments. Such a momentous endeavor as creating a visual and material culture for the new nation required more universal and immediate appeal; however, the new decorativism that emerged was not visually conservative. What developed in architecture and the applied arts **[FIGURES 104-109]**, beginning with drawings and a few projects during the war and taking full form in a plethora of postwar building projects and interior designs, has been referred to by many different names across the succeeding century, some of them pejorative in nature.[265] The most common terms used are the "National Style" and "Rondocubism." Since all the prewar Czech Cubist architects and designers shifted their focus from the diagonal to the orthogonal and made heavy use of rounded arches and forms, the paradoxical term "Rondocubism" was coined in the 1920s.[266] If one accepts that the new style had little in common—theoretically, stylistically, or socially—with the prewar Cuboexpressionism that dominated Czech avant-garde architecture and applied art before 1914, especially given its total abandonment of the key element of Cubism, the diagonal, Rondocubism can be rejected as an inappropriate term for the postwar movement. Czech Art Deco is also an inaccurate description, as the postwar Czech style emphasized democratization, in stark contrast to Art Deco's celebration of luxury and

[265] These include National Style, Rondocubism, arched style, rounded style, rounded decorativism, national decorativism, Czech decorativism, plastic decorativism, style of the Legiobanka, Czech Art Deco, and lidové kubismus, or popular Cubism. See *ibid.*

[266] Oldřich Starý, "Česká moderní architektura [Czech modern architecture]," *Stavba* 4 (1925-1926): 193.

the social elite.[267] Czech National Style is the most apt term, as it emphasizes the motivations behind the movement and points to the fact that this was a homegrown Czech style with references to local folk traditions. Looking back in 1940, Pavel Janák wrote:

> The year 1918 was a watershed, a return to traditional folklore, and a connection with life in the broader sense. It was primarily a reaction against pre-1918 artism. Now architects sought forms that would accommodate the general popular understanding. Already here it contains the beginning of a major change from an individual artistic form to a broader general comprehensibility and utility, even at the price of a reduction in expressiveness.[268]

Janák also wrote contemporaneously about the major shift after the First World War toward a democratic style for the new nation. His article, "Ve třetině cesty [A Third of the Way]," [269] in *Volné směry*'s only wartime issue can be read as a manifesto, calling for a national form of Czech architecture "to be established on the basis of a sociological study of the customs of Czech family and social life."[270] Janák identifies three steps toward the new direction in modern architecture: the fight against historic styles, the identification of a new visual vocabulary that allowed a liberation of matter "from all relationships,"[271] and the creation of a Czech national architecture. He argued

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[267] Hnídková, "Rondocubism versus National Style." There was a coexistence of both the Czech National Style and Art Deco in Czech avant-garde art during the early 1920s, but it is important to distinguish between the two.

[268] Pavel Janák, "Čtyřicet let nové architektury za námi – pohled zpět [Forty years of new architecture behind us—a look back]," *Architektura* 2 (1940): 129-132; translated in Hnídková, "Rondocubism versus National Style."

[269] Pavel Janák, "Ve třetině cesty [A Third of the Way]," *Volné směry* 19 (1918): 218-226.

[270] Vojtěch Lahoda, "Searching for a 'Democratic' Shape in Czech Modernism at the Beginning of the 1920s," *Centropa* 8, no. 1 (January 2008): 28.

[271] Janák, "Ve třetině cesty," 20. Janák refers to pre-Cubist architecture as "dead matter" and discusses the avant-garde's use of the diagonal to awaken it and free it to express the spirit of the

that only a new view of matter had thus far been achieved, and the postwar era would bring the remaining two goals to fruition.

Similar to other European avant-garde movements in the postwar years from De Stijl in the Netherlands to Constructivism in Russia, the Czech avant-garde reduced forms to their most fundamental units. Forms devoid of the emotionality of the diagonal allowed for more universal understanding and appeal, without the need for theoretical explanations by the avant-garde. The monumentality and decorative patterns of repeating elementary shapes gave the Czech National Style a sense of order and calm, in stark contrast to the drama of the prewar Cubist architecture. While often visually busy, the regularity and repetitive patterns of form and applied decoration in the Czech National Style of architecture symbolically conveyed the ideals of democracy, where each individual unit is an equal part of the whole. Bright colors signified optimism for the new era, and the use frequent pairings of red, white, and blue more explicitly evoked optimism for the new Czechoslovak state. Once again, in its historical and contemporary references, we find in the new Czech style the hybridity that permeates the history of Czech architecture. In Pavel Janák's exterior design for the Adria Commercial and Office Building of the Insurance Company Riunione Adriatica di Sicurta in Prague (1923-1925), for example, modern abstraction meets the Tuscan Renaissance and the vernacular Baroque of southern Bohemian farms **[FIGURES 42 & 104-105]**.[272] The bright color and stylized folk

age. He writes, "Architecture is building in matter according to the free idea of spirit and independent of the difficulties of matter and heaviness."

[272] Janák was responsible for the exterior, while German-Bohemian architect Josef Zasche (1871-1957) designed the plan.

decorative elements applied to the façade lend a friendliness to the grandiose high-walled, square palatial form with imposing bastions. Janák wrote an article in 1916 in the daily newspaper of the Czech Agrarian Party, calling for "color to the façades!"[273] In a discussion of the recent renovations to Prague's Town Hall, which revealed colorful façades beneath newer layers of additions and renovations, Janák argues for a revival of the multicolor façades of Prague's architecture between the Rococo and Empire (Biedermeier) periods, which "contribute so favorably to [Prague's] flamboyant character." Lamenting the choice of gray and "grim" neutrals for architecture since the mid-nineteenth century, Janák equates "cheerful" and "pleasant" colorful façades, which are still retained in the small towns of Czechoslovakia, such as Telč and Domažlice **[FIGURE 1]**, with the spirit of the Czech people.[274]

Janák's crematorium in Pardubice (1921-1923) shows the use of the style in a less pompous civic building **[FIGURES 106-107]**. Janák's contemporary observers compared the structure of the crematorium to an "ancient Slav shrine."[275] Crematoria had been banned by the Roman Catholic Habsburgs, but they were revived in the early twentieth century and framed as a return to ancient Czech funerary rituals.[276]

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[273] Pavel Janák, "Barvu průčelím! [Color to the Façades!]," *Venkov: orgán České strany agrární [Countryside: Organ of the Czech Agrarian Party]* 11, no. 289 (December 3, 1916): 3-5.

[274] *Ibid*, 4.

[275] Rostislav Švácha and Tat'ana Petrasová, eds., *Art in the Czech Lands, 800-2000* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2017): 782.

[276] Markéta Večeřáková, "Krematoria v české architektuře 10.-30. let 20. století: Jejich historie, architektura a ideový obsah [Crematoria in Czech Architecture of the 1910s-1930s: Their History, Architecture and Ideological Content]," *Umění* XLV (1997): 72-92.

According to Anthony Alofsin, the decorative bands of circles and rectangles across the façades of Janák's postwar buildings "recalled the motifs of leather strap work developed during the Renaissance that became an emblematic form of ornament applied to surfaces. By associating Rondocubism with this strapwork, its proponents were connecting the new Czechoslovakia with the days of glory and independence of its earlier Renaissance."[277] In other words, it was important to which time periods architects returned for inspiration during the new era of Czech independence—the avant-garde looked to architecture predating Habsburg rule in order to highlight the present return to past glory. Additionally, the Renaissance and Baroque styles of Southern Bohemia were devoid of any German connection, which reflected the contemporary political climate and anti-German sentiments among Czechs after the First World War.

Another example, Josef Gočár's Legiobanka in Prague (1921-1923) **[FIGURES 108-109]**, was such a striking departure from all architecture before it, that "Style of the Legiobanka" has been used to refer to all buildings and interiors in the Czech National Style. The Bank of the Czechoslovak Legions, or Legiobanka, was a newly-created financial institution out of a merger between a Russian bank and the Czech Military Savings Bank. The name of the new bank refers to the Czechoslovak legions, who during World War I volunteered to fight on the side of the French, Italian, and Russian armies. Gočár was selected to design its headquarters building in Prague, on which he collaborated with sculptors Otto Gutfreund and Jan

[277] Anthony Alofsin, *When Buildings Speak: Architecture as Language in the Habsburg Empire and its Aftermath, 1867-1933* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006): 223.

Štursa. Gočár arranged geometric shapes of cylinders, semicircles, cubes, and circles across an undulating façade that recalls Classical arches and columns. On both the interior and the exterior, he used contrasting red and white stone in rhythmic patterns of geometric forms and applied decoration. The arrangement of the entrance, over which Gutfreund and Štursa executed patriotic sculptures and a frieze depicting the scenes of the Legionnaires, has been likened to a triumphal arch.[278] Indeed, the building served as a war memorial, in addition to its primary function as a bank and headquarters. The rhythm—in form, applied decoration, and color schemes—of buildings designed in the Czech National Style is linked to contemporary conceptions of what made Czech art and architecture Czech. V. V. Štech wrote in 1916 that distinctively Czech variations on various styles throughout time have come from the local land, soil, and climate,[279] which manifest in an earthiness, picturesque architectural forms, and a tendency "to develop all schemes onto the surface, transform the construction and composition of the material into the rhythm of the surface areas, and to convert the structural elements into a system of lavish and living ornamentation."[280] Janák's and Gočár's postwar buildings are a direct translation of Štech's theories into a new visual language appropriate for political and civic needs of the First Czechoslovak Republic.

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[278] Rostislav Švácha, *The Architecture of New Prague, 1895-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995): 194.

[279] V. V. Štech, "O národním umění [On a National Art]," (1916), in *Včera*, *Výbor článků z r. 1910-1920*, edited by V. V. Štech (Prague: Jan Stenč, 1921): 204-221.

[280] V. V. Štech, "Smysl země [The Sense of the Earth]," (1918), in *Včera*, *Výbor článků z r. 1910-1920*, edited by V. V. Štech (Prague: Jan Stenč, 1921): 239; quoted and translated in Hnídková, "Rondocubism versus National Style."

Artěl in the Postwar Period

As members of Artěl created the new Czech National Style in architecture and interior design, Artěl as a whole adapted the style throughout the applied arts. The postwar economic downturn began to reverse course in the early 1920s, and several new developments brought the cooperative closer to fulfilling its original mission from 1908. Annual reports from Artěl's Board of Trustees survive from 1920-1932. The year-end financial updates show a rollercoaster of modest profits and losses across the postwar decade. Nevertheless, it was an exciting period for the group, marked by participation in major domestic and international exhibitions, the opening of new shops and a headquarters in Prague, and at long last, the realization of large-scale commissions for the Czechoslovak government, companies, and individuals. In the early 1920s, the SČSD began publishing their monthly arts magazine, *Drobné umění [The Small Arts]* (1920-1925).[281] In addition to covering their own organization's activities, the editors filled their issues with information about Artěl, including pieces written by its members, images of their works, exhibition and competition announcements and news, and advertisements for the company's products and shares. In these volumes and in Artěl's annual reports, there is a wealth of information about Artěl's activities in the new decade. In 1919, Artěl received a state subsidy from the Ministry of Education for 10,000 Czech crowns to create models for middle-class kitchens.[282] In the same year, Artěl announced a competition

[281] *Drobné umění* would be followed in the second half of the 1920s by *Výtvarné snahy [Art Endeavors]* (1926-1930), also by the SČSD.

[282] Jiří Fronek, "Artěl…jehož historie jest historií odvahy a průkopnictví [Artěl…whose history is a history of pioneering and courage]," in *Artěl: Umění pro všední den 1908-1935*, edited by Fronek, (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2009): 25.

for Prague souvenir designs, which garnered numerous submissions from Prague and well beyond the capital **[FIGURES 110-111]**.[283] These souvenirs were among Artěl's best-selling products in the immediate postwar years.

Toys, too, continued in the early interwar years to be an important source of Artěl's notoriety, demonstrated by the group's choice to highlight toys and toymakers frequently in their advertisements, often in catalog-like full-page advertisements interspersed throughout *Drobné umění* **[FIGURE 112]**, and by the promotion of Artěl toys internationally.[284] Like many traditional Czech and Slovak handicrafts, postwar toy production was supported and encouraged by the state, mostly through the vocational schools' curriculum in wood turning.[285] Birds and peasant figures were common motifs in Czech toys by Václav Špála, Minka Podhajská, V. H. Brunner, and Jaroslav Horejc in the postwar years **[FIGURES 113-114]**. Some were more complex than most prewar designs, implementing joints to allow for moveable legs and beaks that could peck. Brightly colored and decorated with stylized floral patterns, they continued motifs of the Czech National Style developing in architecture and interior design. Josef R. Marek favorably reviewed an exhibition of Artěl toys in 1920 in *Drobné umění*, praising Špála's work with the declaration that it "feels Czech."[286]

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[283] *Drobné umění* I, no. 1 (1920): 21.

[284] For example, *The Studio* published the same full-page collection of Špála's toys in its regular "Studio Talk" section, which provided insights into various arts developments from around the world. This volume's Prague update focused on Artěl. H.S. "Studio-Talk: Prague," *The Studio* LXXXII, no. 344 (November 1921): 236-239.

[285] Helena Koenigsmarková and Marie Mičová, "Hračky [Toys]," in *Artěl: Umění pro všední den*, edited by Jiří Fronek (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2009): 133.

[286] Josef R. Marek, "Nové české hračky II [New Czech Toys 2]," *Drobné umění* I, no. 2 (March 1920): 43.

Jindřich Veselý admired the "peasant" quality of Špála's work, pointing to its simplicity in a positive sense.[287] A correspondent for *The Studio* arts magazine in London discussed Špála's toys in conjunction with a box designed by Vlastislav Hofman and some metal brooches and knives designed by Horejc:

> The Czech artist has inherited strong decorative tendencies, and the keen desire of his peasant ancestors for colour. A highly developed imaginative power and a generally high standard save him from plunging into the abysses of abstraction. Only a few objects can be detected as 'dressed up' in treatment or design, but on the whole the objects reveal a strong accentuation of the architectural side of the problem. Indeed, most of the members of Artěl are architects, and this gives a special tone to their productions. Our illustrations […] show the ornamental power of the young Czechs in its purest form.[288]

The author praises Artěl artists in the same breath as they subtly belittle the primitive peasant nation.

Špála's work represented in *The Studio* was by no means representative of all Artěl's toy design. At the same time that many Artěl designers were preoccupied with folk motifs for toys and all other media, up-and-coming designer and new Artěl affiliate, Ladislav Sutnar (1897-1976), was already taking toy design in a new direction in the early 1920s. He chose new characters to represent in machine-like, simplified shapes **[FIGURE 115]**. Many of his designs in the early 1920s resemble robots in their modular construction and industrial aesthetic, likely influenced by Karel Čapek's internationally popular 1920 play, *Rossum's Universal Robots (R. U. R.)*, in which the playwright coined the term "robot" from the Czech word for serf or

[287] Jindřich Veselý, "Hračky jindy a nyní [Toys Then and Now]," *Drobné umění* I, no. 1 (January 1920): 5-8.

[288] H. S., "Studio-Talk Prague," 237.

hard laborer (*robota*).[289] As a nod to the Czech National Style, Sutnar also created abstract versions of Rondocubist toy furniture painted in the colors of the national flag **[FIGURE 116]**. Around 1924, he began to develop and exhibit prototypes for his "Building the Town" modular toy design concept, which would become extremely popular and influential in international toy design throughout the 1930s and 1940s **[FIGURE 117]**. Multicolor blocks in red, white, and blue in simple shapes allow children to create their own original cityscapes with factories, housing, train station towers, and other modern structures. True throughout Artěl's development, different artists affiliated with the cooperative continued to work in a variety of directions at the same time, experimenting with traditional and modern subjects, media, and styles.

In March 1920, Artěl became a joint-stock company with one million crowns of share capital and an advisory board.[290] This move transformed Artěl from a community of artists with limited liability, to a modern enterprise that provided capital for projects and would hopefully realize production facilities capable of executing large orders.[291] The annual report the following year assured co-owners that this transformation would not change the company's objectives "to promote a modern arts industry and disseminate artistic culture in the home."[292] Given the profitable year

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[289] Karel Čapek, *Rossumovi univerzální roboti [Rossum's Universal Robots]* (Prague: Aventinum, 1920).

[290] Waltraud Neuwirth, "Artěl and Vienna," in *Czech Cubism, 1909-1925: Art, Architecture, Design*, edited by Jiří Švestka, Tomáš Vlček, and Pavel Liška (Prague: i3 and Modernista, 2006): 308. The notably all-male board included Alois Dyk, Vlastislav Hofman, František Kavalír, Rudolf Stockar, and Josef Šejnost.

[291] Fronek, 25.

[292] Quoted in *ibid*, 26.

in 1919, shareholders were paid dividends in 1920, and the organization managed to open stores in Karlový Vary and Poděbrady—two touristy Bohemian towns with many international travelers for potential clients.[293] The group also received commissions to design the interiors of some Czechoslovak embassies abroad, and it attempted to promote its products in rural towns through booksellers and organizing lectures and traveling exhibitions around Czechoslovakia in Úpice, Kutná Hora, Tábor, Písek, Kladno, Náchod, and Louny.[294]

One of the most beneficial activities in which Artěl took part in the early 1920s were the commercial exhibitions called Prague Sample Fairs. The first was held in 1920. Images that survive from the second annual fair in 1921 show three interior installations by Artěl, including Ladislav Machoň's Blue Dining Room with White Accents **[FIGURE 118]**, Rudolf Stockar's White Lacquered Kitchen Set with Red Accents, and Vlastislav Hofman's White Lacquered Bedroom Suite with Blue Accents **[FIGURE 119]**. The colorful interior designs reflect, as was common during the postwar period, the new tricolor Czechoslovak flag. The wooden furniture designs, especially in Stockar's kitchen, mostly abandon the sharp diagonals and jarring forms of prewar Cubist furniture in favor of folk-inspired shapes in the new Czech National Style. Stockar includes in his exhibit some of Janák's striped ceramic ware, reminiscent of his prewar Cubist style **[FIGURE 89]**; however, the stripes are bright red, instead of black, and the steady repetition of vertical lines replaces the

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[293] *Ibid,* 25.

[294] *Ibid,* 26.

drama of the zig-zag motif. Hofman retains the diagonal in the cut of his tables and the decoration on the bureau doors, but the bed is accented with a floral embroidered spread that would appear at home in a traditional rural Czech cottage. Machoň's dining suite is constructed of many semi-circles and circles, echoing the developing National Style in architecture. Commenting on the exhibition in *Drobné umění*, Josef R. Marek wrote of Artěl's "civic simplicity, its calm and pure temper and the impressiveness of its shapes," in contrast to the rich luxury items that dominate the furniture industry.[295] Artěl received what might have been considered by its founders the highest praise, when a commentator lauded Artěl for "correctly understanding the meaning and scope of marrying architecture with good craftsmanship."[296] The success of the Czech National Style in furniture and interior design laid out at the second Prague Sample Fair, and the attendant praise received in the press, may have led to Artěl's biggest commission in its history—a state hotel in northern Slovakia, as well as contracts to design two pharmacy interiors in 1922.

Despite such an auspicious renewal of Artěl's resources, activities, and goals after the war, the 1920s would prove a volatile period of ups and downs for the group. Surviving annual reports from the Board detail alternating yearly profit margins and losses. Already in 1922, the annual report lamented the dramatic changes for the worse in the economy, after the few postwar boom years.[297] Citing a depreciation of the value of Czechoslovak currency, and an opposite trend in foreign currencies, Artěl

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[295] Josef R. Marek, "Nábytek Artělu [Furniture of Artěl]," *Drobné umění* II, no. 3 (March 1921): 64.

[296] Author unnamed, *Drobné umění* II, no. 4 (April 1921): 80-81.

[297] Artěl, "Annual Report," (1922).

reported stagnation in foreign sales and a loss of over 59,000 crowns for the year. Given the group's commission for the Hviezdoslav Hotel, and their adaption of the warehouse at 18 Národní třída to include a new showroom for home textiles, they had reason to hope for a better year ahead in 1923.

Hviezdoslav Hotel Commission in Štrbské Pleso, Slovakia

Artěl finally won its first large-scale commission in 1922, receiving a contract to design the interiors of the newly built Grand Hotel Hviezdoslav in the resort town of Štrbské Pleso, Slovakia, in the High Tatra mountains **[FIGURES 120-121]**. The Ministry in Bratislava, after four years of negotiation, ordered the outfitting of three dozen rooms in the state hotel. The design team included Vlastislav Hofman, Jaromír Krejcar, Ladislav Machoň, Otakar Novotný, and Rudolf Stockar.[298] Other artists contributed product designs for lighting, textiles, and other interior furnishings. A second contract of roughly the same amount, was awarded to the Slovak company, the Society of Arts Industry (SUP) (1920-1924).[299] The SUP was founded by art historian and professor Josef Vydra (1884-1959) on the model of Artěl, and the two groups participated in many of the same exhibitions in the first half of the 1920s, including the Prague Sample Fairs, the SČSD exhibitions at the Museum of Decorative Arts, and the 1925 exposition in Paris.[300] The award of two contracts for

[298] Jana Horneková, "Artěl, the PUD, and the SČSD," in *Czech Cubism*, edited by Švestka, et al., 285.

[299] Fronek, 28.

[300] Zuzana Šidlíková, *Textilná tvorba a dizajn v 20. – 21. storočí: Vybrané kapitoly zo svetovej a československej produkcie [Textile and Design in the 20th-21st Centuries: Selected Chapters from World and Czechoslovak Production]* (Bratislava: Slovart, 2013): 59.

the Grand Hotel Hviezdoslav to Artěl and the SUP reveals a sort of separate-but-equal mentality in the new Czechoslovak Republic. The cultural differences and geographical distances between Prague and Bratislava were vast enough that a unified Czechoslovak project in the applied arts industry was not immediately conceivable. Artěl members František Kysela and graphic artist Slavoboj Tusar (1885-1950) were both active in the SUP and served as a bridge between the two groups, but one of the SUP's reasons for being was to promote *Slovak* arts industry.[301] The group's output was decidedly more focused on the elevation of local folk crafts and traditions than on developing a new modern style based on abstractions and transformations of those traditions. The SUP relied upon partnerships with and encouraged the continuation of long-standing folk industries around Slovakia, such as the famous kilns of Modra, bobbin lace makers in the eastern region of Košice, and carpet weavers in Carpathian Ruthenia.[302]

Little survives of the Hviezdoslav Hotel commissions—from 1953, it was used as a sanatorium and eventually fell into disrepair. Between 2003 and 2008, a Russian conglomerate completely renovated the hotel and reopened as Hotel Kempinski, ridding the site of any remaining trace of Artěl's interior design. The exterior renovation, on the other hand, attempted to restore the hotel largely according to its original appearance. The objects that appeared on the art market soon after the 2008 renovation included wooden chairs and a wardrobe in the Czech National Style

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[301] Josef Vydra, *Náš směr [Our Direction],* (1921-1922); quoted in *ibid,* 57.

[302] *Ibid.*

[FIGURES 122-123]. The chair and wardrobe feature the strapwork-like decorative patterns of architectural façades in the National Style; however, the designer chose to retain the natural wood character, rather than painting the pieces in contrasting colors to bring out the applied decorative shapes.

The success of the Hviezdoslav Hotel commission helped Artěl gain other private and public furniture contracts, such as the Czechoslovak Tourists Club in Prague's tourist cottage in Modrava Šumava, Bohemia (1923). Some drawings of original furniture designs by Vlastislav Hofman remain **[FIGURE 124]**. While Hofman maintains his commitment to the use of the diagonal, his designs have a folkish character in their bright coloration, thick wooden frames, and painted decorative designs in the middle of the chairbacks, headboards, and footboards. Around the same time, the Ministry of Education also signed an agreement entrusting Artěl to sell the products of all state vocational art schools in the country, a deal which granted such schools a state-funded exhibition room at the Artěl company headquarters on Voršilská Street in Prague.[303] The shop on Národní třída was remodeled to accommodate a special department for interior textiles. Artěl also presented again at the Prague Sample Fair in 1923, as well as in the SČSD's exhibition of applied arts at the Museum of Decorative Arts. Artěl's designs were known to be used in the National Assembly of Prague, and other ministry and public buildings, creating a market for private use, as well.[304] The profit margins for the year

[303] Artěl, "Annual Report," (1923).

[304] *Ibid.*

show a modest 4,177 crowns, and the group's leadership expressed their ongoing need for a larger store in an ideal shopping location. One of the most popular products was painting templates for interior wall painting. Sales to foreign clients remained low, indicating a continued failure to develop an international market for Czech arts industry. The only exception was in jewelry and toys, which were predominantly exported goods.[305] Rudolf Stockar, director since 1915, stepped down by the end of 1923 to pursue his own projects outside Artěl, leaving the group in the hands of architect František Kavalír (1878-1932).[306]

Artěl on Tour: International Expositions of Decorative Arts

At the same time that Artěl's domestic activities flourished across Czechoslovakia, the group also began to promote itself in the early 1920s on a broader, more international scale than ever before. The Czechoslovak Republic participated in the International Exposition in Lyon, France in 1919-1920 and in the 1922 Centennial Exposition in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Josef Gočár and Pavel Janák were chosen to design the new nation's pavilions at these world's fairs **[FIGURES 125-128]**. The buildings' forms and decoration, based on traditional rural architecture in the Czech lands, also reflect the new Czech National Style. Repeating elements of simple, geometric forms cover the façade of Gočár's pavilion in Lyon, while patterns abstracted from floral wall painting and traditional wooden architecture adorn Janák's

[305] *Ibid.*

[306] *Ibid.*

pavilion in Rio de Janeiro. This distillation of folk elements into their most basic forms and geometric patterns foreshadows the visual language of international Art Deco's streamlined shapes and decorative patterning. In Rio de Janeiro, only thirteen states built their own pavilions, and the Czechoslovaks were the only nation from Central Europe to do so. Marta Filipová writes:

> The Czechoslovak government clearly had national motives for building a pavilion amidst the limited foreign exhibitors from countries the likes of Great Britain, France, Japan, and the United States […] a space rented out to some seventy companies. Most of these businesses exhibited industries that had the potential for competing in the new markets of the Americas. In this way, economic and political aims combined to help put Czechoslovakia on the world map.[307]

Participating in international exhibitions not only increased name recognition for the new nation, but also presented an image of Czechoslovakia as economically stable and modern. As art historian and future director of the Museum of Decorative Arts Karel Herain (1890-1953) argued in *Drobné umění*, the new state needed to impress the rest of the world with its "dignified and refined behavior, and intelligent manner, presupposing a sophisticated outward appearance,"[308] since, "as an unknown newcomer on the international scene, stricter parameters of evaluation were applied."[309]

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[307] Marta Filipová, "Ideology on Display: Continuity and Rupture at Exhibitions in Austria-Hungary and Czechoslovakia, 1873-1928," in *Embers of Empire*, edited by Paul Miller and Claire Morelon, 99.

[308] Karel Herain, "Státní representace v umění [State Representation of Art]," *Drobné umění* II (1921): 118.

[309] Hnídková, "Rondocubism versus National Style."

1923 Mostra internazionale delle arti decorative in Monza, Italy

In 1923, Artěl took part in the first biennial *Mostra internazionale delle arti decorative* in Monza, Italy. The Czechoslovak Ministry of Education delegated V. V. Štech as the technical advisor of the Czechoslovak exhibits. Rudolf Stockar, the director of Artěl at that time, and Pavel Janák were delegated as organizers by the Svaz Československého Díla.[310] Czechoslovak participation in Monza was considered a trial run before the highly-anticipated upcoming 1925 international exposition in Paris.[311] In Monza, the Czechoslovak Commission received four halls on the second floor of the eighteenth-century Villa Reale for their solo national exhibits, including one hall designated for Artěl. One room in the national exhibition space was a bedroom suite featuring a folk-inflected Art Deco style designed by the founder of the state vocational school of housing industry in Prague in 1921, František Buben (1880-1956). Another room:

> …was transformed into a rustic kitchen in which the national colors of the newly establish republic—red, blue and white prevailed. […] If the photographs faithfully capture the national exposition, it can be stated with certainty that this is a copy of the interior of the most important work of Czech Rondocubism, the Antonín Hořovský villa in Hodkovičký, Prague, more precisely its entrance hall **[FIGURES 129-131]**. Architect Pavel Janák worked on the construction of the villa, the interiors and the furniture between 1920 and 1922.[312]

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310 Petra Nováková, "Čeští a slovenští umělci na Triennale di Milano, 1923-1968 [Czech and Slovak Artists at the Milan Triennial, 1923-1968]," (MA Thesis, Univerzita Palackého, Olomouc, 2012): 23.

311 *Ibid*, 24.

312 *Ibid*, 26.

František Kysela collaborated with Janák on the interior decoration, bringing his trademark stylized floral patterns to interior walls, trim, ceilings, doors, wooden furniture, and façades. Traditional Czech cottages often featured painted floral decoration throughout their interiors, especially along wooden trim and ceiling beams. Kysela and Janák modified these traditions with the addition of geometric shapes in relief interspersed among flat and more stylized painted decoration.

The third room of the national exhibition space was devoted to folk arts, including photographs of Rusyn costume, people, and architecture in the Carpathian Mountains of eastern Slovakia and part of what is now western Ukraine. The art of various groups across the new Czechoslovak Republic were duly represented by their embroidery, lace, ceramics, toys, Easter eggs, pearl inlay, glass, and turned wood. The modern design and folk art were clearly divided into separate spaces, but the exhibition organizers could not conceive of representing Czechoslovak art abroad without demonstrating for foreign audiences the folk roots of modern Czechoslovak art, which legitimized the narrative of a long history and highlighted the unique regional characteristics of Czechoslovakia. This representation of the variety of ethnicities that made up the First Republic was also vital to the project of democracy and unity at home. Gestures to recognize the cultural diversity of the new nation's inhabitants were attempts to both quell opposition among non-Czech minorities in Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia to the geopolitical union and Czech-centric leadership and educate Czechs and foreign audiences about these cultures within the new Czechoslovakia.

According to telegrams between the Italian press office and Rudolf Stockar announcing the separate space allotted to Artěl, "This is a beautiful room overlooking the garden, which can be easily adapted to the exhibition. Although, unfortunately, it is not immediately adjacent to the Czechoslovak exposition, it has an ideal place among other foreign expositions."[313] The final exhibition design for this room included four glass display cases full of ceramics, metalwork, toys, and glass, continuing the same exhibition practice Artěl had used all along to show off the wide range and diversity of its affiliates' work **[FIGURES 132-133]**.[314] The exhibit, for which Artěl received the silver medal, was essentially a retrospective of the group's work to date, including many examples of prewar design. The center of the room featured a Cubist table and a Persian rug by Vlastislav Hofman, and the walls were decorated with a tapestry and hanging textiles. On the table lay Jan Konůpek's album of etchings, *Dante's Inferno* (1920-1921). While Artěl was awarded its own room for a solo exhibition, the glass display cases in the three national Czechoslovak exhibition rooms also included works by many artists associated with the group, including porcelain by Helena Johnová, textiles by Marie Teinitzerová, lace by Emilie Paličková-Mildeová (1892-1973), Jaroslav Horejc's metalwork, and toys by V. H. Brunner and others.

An article in *Drobné umění* emphasized the Monza exhibition's "truly international scale, which will be the first opportunity to present our best work to

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[313] *Ibid,* 24.

[314] *Ibid,* 27.

foreigners and to inform them about our leading talents in the field. However, it is necessary to find sufficient financial means for the Czechoslovak exposition and to ensure the organization so that Czech art is as successful as the shows in Cologne (1914) and Leipzig."[315] Alas, at least one contributor to *Drobné umění* thought that the organizers failed in this mission. Blaming the Czechs' delayed reaction and lengthy governmental negotiations, the author complained that the Czechs lost the best exhibition halls to Hungary, who were awarded 13 rooms, while the Czechs received only four.[316] The Hungarians also organized concurrent lectures in Monza and Milan, which the Czechs failed to do. In another review published in *Drobné umění*, the author laments the "unintentional cultural struggle with the Hungarians," complaining that "their exposure was five times larger than ours, but at the artistic level, twenty years behind in its conservatism and inconsistency. By the way, the Hungarian representatives were also part of the jury, which decided on awards […]. The injustice caused to us in this way would perhaps be excusable if the case had no political background or color."[317] Despite the impediments of this perceived discrimination, Rudolf Stockar's report for the SČSD after the exhibition boasted 250,000 visitors to the Czechoslovak exhibits and "notes the extraordinary interest of experts and audiences right from the start."[318]

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315 Author unnamed, "Mezinárodní výstava moderního uměleckého průmyslu," *Drobné umění* III, no. 2–3, (March 1922): 39.

316 Author unnamed, "Svaz československého díla," *Drobné umění* IV, no. 5 (May 1923): 111-112.

317 Author unnamed, "Svaz československého díla," *Drobné umění* IV, no. 10 (December 1923): 210-211.

318 Nováková, 29.

The reaction by some in the Italian press, however, accused the Czechoslovaks of the same inconsistency and backwardness for which the Czechs berated the Hungarians. In the guidebook for the Monza exhibitions, published in *Corriere della Sera* (1923), Ugo Ojetto writes:

> The most striking example of folk art is Czechoslovakia. Inside the childish striped and flowered walls of a rustic kitchen, embroidery and lace for peasants or nurses are poignant perhaps for their naïve simplicity […]. And suddenly we move into the rosewood bedroom, in a typically German style—dark and choking. The visible inconsistency of the exhibition reflects the bloody drama of the emergence of the new republic and the national question.[319]

Ceramics and glassware from Artěl's prewar Cubist period, however, were highly praised by Italian commentators, as was newer glass from Josef Drahoňovský (1877-1938) and lace by Emilie Paličková-Mildeová.[320] The successes of Artěl and the Czechoslovak Commission as a whole at Monza, despite their relegation to four substandard spaces, would be far exceeded in two years by the Czechoslovak Pavilion's exhibits at the Parisian world exposition.

1925 Exposition international des arts modernes et décoratifs in Paris, France

In October 1925, the long-awaited *Exposition internationale des arts modernes et décoratifs* opened in Paris. Europe's Art Deco craze of the early 1920s reached its crescendo at the Exposition, while the architectural innovations on display in the array of pavilions designed by avant-garde architects across Europe helped

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[319] Ugo Ojetti, "Piccola guida della mostra di Monza," *Corriere della Sera* (May 18, 1923): 3.

[320] W. S., "Attraverso la mostra di Monza," *Le Arti decorative* I, no. 2 (1923): 42-43, includes praise for Pavel Janák's Zig-Zag Coffee Service (1911) [FIGURE 82] in particular; and Roberto Papini, "La mostra delle arti decorative a Monza," *Emporium* no. 341 (May 1923): 283-284.

usher in the International Style. Le Corbusier's L'Esprit nouveau pavilion and Konstantin Melnikov's Soviet pavilion both exhibited the ultramodern Functionalist and Constructivist developments in architecture across Europe **[FIGURES 134-135]**. Unadorned boxy structures with walls of glass, these strikingly sleek and unembellished structures at the Exposition helped announce the new Functionalist direction in architecture to the whole world.

The award-winning Czechoslovak pavilion was designed by Josef Gočár to resemble the form of a ship **[FIGURE 136]**. Jan Štursa's *Victory* sculpture and the emblem of the First Czechoslovak Republic adorned the helm. For a landlocked nation, the nautical structure may seem an odd choice. However, travel-related imagery and metaphors were popular among the Czech avant-garde poets, writers, and visual artists who formed the group Devětsil in 1920, whose interests paralleled those of the Purists and Constructivists among avant-garde movements across Europe at the time.[321] The group's founder, Karel Teige, invented the "picture poem"—collage and photomontage—which is most famously represented in his work *The Embarkation for Cythera* (1923) **[FIGURE 137]**. The imagery celebrates technologies of the new age that enabled humans to traverse geographical boundaries at exciting new speeds. Boats thus became metaphors for the avant-garde's goals to remove boundaries between different kinds of art and genres. Not quite as joltingly stark or ultramodern as Le Corbusier's and Melnikov's pavilions, the Czechoslovak

[321] The paradox of coast- and boat-related metaphors for the Czech Lands is highlighted in Derek Sayer's *Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998). Sayer's title refers to the line in William Shakespeare's *A Winter's Tale* (1609-10) when Antigonus asks, "Thou art perfect then our ship hath touched upon the deserts of Bohemia?", which Czechs see as "a typical example of foreigners' ignorance of their land," p. 5.

pavilion still won a prestigious prize and garnered much attention at the Exposition. The elaborate glass windows were a nod to continuity of the long-established history of Bohemian glassmaking. Gočár and Pavel Janák designed the main exhibition hall, which featured walls of all-glass exhibit cases and a grid-like lighting fixture across the ceiling, giving the room a Functionalist look that foreshadowed new trends in architecture and interior design that would dominate in the second half of the decade and into the 1930s **[FIGURE 138]**. In contrast, Janák designed the interior of another large salon in collaboration with František Kysela, Marie Teinitzerová, and Jaroslav Horejc **[FIGURE 139]**. The "salle d'honneur" was meant as a reception room for official visitors, so Janák chose a dark, castle-like interior design scheme and integrated Kysela's stylized floral painting décor across the rustic wooden ceilings, carpets, and furniture upholstery. Kysela and Teinitzerová collaborated on a series of eight large tapestries that hung around the room. Jaroslav Horejc contributed stained glass for the windows on one wall. Both the tapestries and the glass represented the theme of "Crafts." The tapestry series, *The Handicrafts*, married Czech folk patterns, renowned weaving craftsmanship, and the very subject of arts and crafts with the Czech National Style and Art Deco interiors of the Czechoslovak pavilion **[FIGURES 140-141]**. The contrast between this room and Gočár's and Janák's main exhibition hall demonstrate the turning point the Czech avant-garde had reached by 1925.

As they had at the Monza exposition, Artěl secured again their own exhibition space separate from the Czechoslovak Pavilion, in the Grand Palais near the Spanish department, where the group's members also displayed their works in the installation

of an interior design scheme.[322] Overall, Czechoslovakia received 59 prizes at the 1925 exposition, second only to France.[323] Artěl won three silver medals for their metal work (Stockar, Šejnost, and Horejc), ceramics (Janák, Hofman, Johnová, and Horejc), and glass (Benda and Jaroslav Brychta), as well as a gold medal for their toy designs (Brunner, Sutnar, Slavoboj Tusar, and Podhajská).[324] Podhajská was also awarded an "honorary diploma, " the meaning of which is unclear.[325] Other Artěl affiliates who exhibited at the Exposition also won awards separate from the Artěl space. Emilie Paličková-Mildeová, for example, oversaw the State Training Institute's lace exhibit. Lace-making, a well-established craft in Czech history, experienced a revival in the early 1920s, thanks in large part to its inclusion in the vocational schools' curriculum throughout the country. Paličková-Mildeová's design, *Sun* (1924), was awarded a Grand Prix and gold medal for its complexity, craftsmanship, and impressive size **[FIGURE 142]**. The round handsewn lace measures an impressive 43.3 inches in diameter. An exquisitely detailed variety of buildings, figures in folk costume, trees, flowers, and animals surround the central sun and its beaming, life-giving rays. Inspired by traditions of Czech folk lace, Paličková-Mildeová "used every possible technique in the creation of her designs."[326] Flowers, leaves of trees, embroidered patterns on folk costumes, and applied decoration on representations of buildings are

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[322] Fronek, 29.

[323] Alena Adlerová, *Czech Art Deco, 1918-1938* (Prague, 1998): 29.

[324] Fronek, 29.

[325] *Ibid.*

[326] Adlerová, 150.

connected by delicate bobbin lace, while sophisticated gradations of light and shadow are achieved through intricate shifts between tight and loose needlework. With this stunning work, Paličková-Mildeová (re)introduced international audiences in Western Europe to high-quality, handcrafted lacework, and helped launch a revival of the medium through interior fashions across the 1920s.[327] After the 1925 exposition, Artěl's annual report announced increasing success with decorative fabrics.[328] The Board hoped "to launch a lucrative revival of Artěl" through curtains, painting templates, and made-to-order furniture.[329]

The Czech New Woman and the Applied Arts

During the postwar era, women's role in the applied arts shifted to a more public one. Artěl's women artists received particular praise internationally for their utilitarian and decorative designs, especially at the 1925 International Exhibition in Paris. In addition to the previously mentioned prizes for Marie Teinitzerová's weaving and Emilie Paličková-Mildeová's lace, Marie Sedláčková-Serbousková (1895-1964) won a gold medal for her "incredibly varied and imaginatively conceived modern [bobbin] lace, which could be used as an up-to-date accessory for

[327] Handmade lace production had significantly declined across Europe since the introduction of mechanical lace machines in England in 1820. Industrial production of lace began in Bohemia and Moravia in 1832, offering consumers lower-cost products and decreasing the demand for higher-quality hand-crafted lace. Šidlíková, 44.

[328] Artěl, "Annual Report," (1925).

[329] *Ibid.*

wear as well as for interior decoration" **[FIGURE 143]**.[330] Moving beyond a revival of handcrafted lace, Sedláčková-Serbousková modernized the medium during the interwar period, melding a primarily decorative craft with the principles and style of Functionalism. This transition is already apparent in her work before 1925. Placemats and table coverings are devoid of figural ornament, highlighting patterns of various lace techniques to create minimalist, geometric forms designed for practical, everyday use. Women artists also emerged as a force on the scene of fashion design during this period, demonstrated by their work exhibited in the *Umění v módě* exhibition at the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague in 1921, for example, which brought in over 8,000 visitors.[331] Throughout the 1920s, the women of Artěl represented to Czechoslovakia and to the rest of the world the Czech New Woman in all her modern, fashion-forward, and liberated glory.[332]

It is important to note that unlike other feminist movements to the west, the turn-of-the-century Czech women's movement was closely linked with nationalism. Czech nationalists argued that since Czech men had also long-been oppressed by Austrian authority and the more privileged Austro-German culture in Bohemia, they

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[330] Adlerová, 150.

[331] Fronek, 28.

[332] The concept of the New Woman was used between about 1890 to 1940 to refer to nontraditional women, such as those working outside the home and those wearing clothing or hairstyles that went against society's standards for women at a given time. By the 1920s, as women more commonly worked outside the home and female public figures, such as actresses, dancers, and singers, were more visible through advertising, photojournalism, and film, the New Woman took on a more glamorous connotation with suggestions of more liberal and/or luxurious lifestyles. Thus, the New Woman became a symbol of modernity, capitalism, and democracy. See Karla Huebner, "Girl, Trampka, or Žába? (Girl, Tramp, or Froggie?) The Czechoslovak New Woman," in *The New Woman International: Representations in Photography and Film from the 1870s through the 1960s*, edited by Elizabeth Otto and Vanessa Rocco (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011): 231-251.

should sympathize with women's efforts for equality.[333] Indeed, the first president of the First Czechoslovak Republic, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, was active in women's rights movements while he led the Realist Party in the years leading up to the First World War, and his government declared the right to vote for women in 1919—over twenty years earlier than their French counterparts would win their cause. After the formation of the First Czechoslovak Republic, there was a need for new images and symbols of the nation's modernity. Most imagery of the Czech New Woman by the second half of the 1920s presented her as "modern, well dressed, competent, and good-looking," suggesting that "Czechs not only valued modernity strongly but express it, in part, through the image of the intelligent, attractive, competent, working New Woman, a woman who was educated and voted."[334] As the concept of the New Woman—modern, cosmopolitan, and fashion-forward—evolved across post-imperial democratic Europe, her image was used for the advancement of capitalist democracy. This was especially evident in the mass marketing of fashion and housewares through both advertising posters and the circulation of women's fashion and interior design magazines **[FIGURE 144]**. Artěl's women designers were the epitome of this image, and they would reach new heights as avant-garde designers in the late 1920s and 1930s. Czech-language magazines, such as *Ženský svět [Women's World]* (founded 1896) and *Eva* (founded 1928), ran columns on women artists and women working in

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[333] Katherine David, "Czech Feminists and Nationalism in the Late Hapsburg Monarchy: 'The First in Austria,'" *Journal of Women's History* 3, no. 2 (1991): 26-45; and Karla Huebner, "Otherness in the First Republic Czechoslovak Representations of Women," in *Competing eyes: visual encounters with alterity in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Dagnosław Demski, Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, and Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska, (Budapest, L'Harmattan, 2013): 440-460.

[334] Huebner, "Otherness in the First Republic Czechoslovak Representations of Women," 447.

unusual and exciting professions, such as racecar driving.[335] As Karla Huebner's research indicates, women artists and their all-women exhibitions were well-publicized in these women's magazines, but their gendered audience left many in "something of a female art ghetto."[336]

In *Drobné umění*, however, women artists' work was regularly featured in advertisements for Artěl and highlighted and praised in many exhibition reviews. *Drobné umění*'s audience was largely the Czech community of applied artists and architects. In the early 1920s, women began to play an important new role in the merging of art and fashion. Clothing in the prewar era in Prague was a trade profession for tailors and dressmakers and did not hold much interest for the avant-garde or applied artists. Unlike the Wiener Werkstätte, which opened a clothing workshop in 1910, there was no clothing division of Artěl until 1921. In the same year, the Museum of Decorative Arts held the *Umění v módě [Art in Fashion]* exhibition, organized by Artěl, which signaled a significant shift in attitudes toward clothing design **[FIGURES 145-146]**. To exhibit their work, participants need only meet the condition that they take "an artistic approach of any style […] in their

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[335] *Ibid*, 443. Huebner's research demonstrates how the image of the New Woman set forth in these magazines and other visual media in the First Czechoslovak Republic was decidedly Czech and urban. The populations of rural Bohemians, Moravians, and Slovaks were not represented in this modern concept of women, even though they may have formed part of the magazines' and advertisements' audience. See Huebner, "Inter-War Czech Women's Magazines: Constructing Gender, Consumer Culture and Identity in Central Europe," in *Women in Magazines: Research, Representation, Production, and Consumption*, edited by Rachel Ritchie, Sue Hawkins, Nicola Phillips, et al. (New York: Routledge, 2016): 66-80; and Huebner, "Otherness in the First Republic Czechoslovak Representations of Women."

[336] Karla Huebner, "In Pursuit of Toyen: Feminist Biography in an Art-Historical Context," *Journal of Women's History* 25, no. 1 (2013): 29.

clothing designs."[337] Architects and graduates of the School of Applied Arts exhibited alongside established tailors and dressmakers. Jury members included Václav Špála, Vlastislav Hofman, and Rudolf Stockar.[338] Graphic designer, professor, and critic Josef R. Marek reviewed the exhibition in *Drobné umění*, explaining the relationship between art and fashion at the time:

> Fashion in art always means decline and lack of new ideas and new talents; it occurs after upheavals as an abrupt reaction […] and like every fake, is worthy of contempt and disdain […]. Fashion and apparel are determined by seamstresses and tailors […]. Artists have only recently been interested in the appearance of their fellow creatures, and I cooperate on fashion with my designs. The artist's task is to create a distinctive type of cut, color and decoration; not limited to the mere decorative ornament of finished shapes. Otherwise, the artist applies ornaments, which are not inherent in the dress, but complement it. I enhance their appearance with jewelry and other accessories.[339]

The public's interest in fashion is evident in the more than 8,000 visitors the exhibition received.[340] No exhibition catalogue survives, but Marek lauds the work of Artěl, and of Marie Teinitzerová in particular, and describes some of their designs:

> The best works are exhibited by artists from Artěl, whose selection shows a high standard. Marie Teinitzerová especially—an artist of extraordinary nobility and substantial taste—exhibits woven fabrics of wool for sports dresses, meaning not only she designs patterns, but she also weaves them in her own workshops. Artistic originality and quality of work and material meet here in simple harmony. The soft fabrics of coarse-grained structure are streaked with parallel identical stripes, always in colorful tones, such as dark blue and yellow. Ornaments of pillows and furniture upholstery arise from the ancient ways of working; […] rectangular and rhomboid patterns in a swift configuration, as on Serbian fabrics, but of a completely different color and

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[337] Eva Uchalová, "Oděvy [Clothing]," in *Artěl: Umění pro všední den*, edited by Jiří Fronek (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2009): 287-288.

[338] *Ibid*.

[339] Josef R. Marek, "Umění a móda," *Drobné umění* II, no. 9 (November 1921): 161.

[340] Artěl, "Annual Report," (1920-1921), quoted in Fronek, 28.

> ornamental character. Also, her batik of fully extended patterns, growing out of rich fantasia and yet geometric shapes, exhibit gentle but strong contrasts **[FIGURES 36 & 147]**. [341]

Marek names many other women in his review, including Anna-Natalie Bartošová-Hennerová (1899-1921), Ludmila Melková-Ondrušová (1897-1955), Helena Michalcová (dates unknown), and Eliška Mikanová-Urbanová (1879-?), some of whom became actively involved in Artěl, perhaps as a direct result of this exhibition. Most were part of the youngest generation entering the Prague applied arts circles. Marek ends his review with the conclusion that the *Umění v módě* exhibition was a "serious demonstration of [Czech] independence and productivity in these areas of domestic industry."[342]

Ceramics continued to be a medium in which Artěl's women were actively engaged. Signaling a dramatic step forward in women's status in the applied arts, Artěl co-founder Helena Johnová became a professor at the School of Decorative Arts in Prague in 1919, where she opened the first ceramics department. Between 1916 and 1919, she developed a series of glazed, colorful figures in folk national dress from around the Czech Lands. Their names indicated the origins of their dress, such as *Couple from Litomyšl* (1917) and *Sitting Peasant from Mladoboleslavsko* **[FIGURE 148]**. In the latter, the young woman sits atop a traditional wooden folk chest, with a bouquet in her hands. Like the Moor figure, which was still in production after the war **[FIGURE 17]**, this design was produced in multiple versions

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[341] *Ibid,* 162.

[342] *Ibid.*

with variations on colors of the dress, jewelry, hair adornments, and the wooden chest. Her dress is not an everyday costume—it suggests a festive occasion. Her red, beaded necklace is likely meant to represent Bohemian garnets and almandines, for which the Mladá Boleslav area is known. Like Johnová's prewar ceramics, connections to folk traditions do not arise only in the content of her work, but they are also inherent in the form.[343] This period of Johnová's work, completely dominated by the representation of Czech peasants in folk dress, was her contribution to the wartime Czech national revival across the arts. Like many urban artists, there was an impulse to catalog the various folk traditions that harbored the perceived authentic sources of Czech culture. Her known ceramic output decreased in the early 1920s, perhaps as she focused more on teaching.

More teaching opportunities arose for other women artists around the time of the creation of the First Czechoslovak Republic, especially after the State Training Institute for Domestic Industry was founded in 1919. The Institute, based in Prague, oversaw technical schools around the country, including 33 lace-making schools, six embroidering schools, one braid-making school, and one toy-making school. Artěl's Emilie Paličková-Mildeová taught lace-making at the Prague campus. At the same time, women were also beginning to push the boundaries of gendered media in the applied arts. Some began to work in metal to create fine jewelry outside the classification of "costume jewelry." Valerie Myslivečková-Hachlová's (1878-1968) jewelry, for example, was sold by Artěl in the 1920s **[FIGURE 149]**. She trained as a

[343] Jiří Hořava, *První dáma české keramiky: Helena Johnová (1884-1962) [First Lady of Czech Ceramics: Helena Johnová]* (České Budějovice: Měsíc ve dne, 2017): 187.

chiseler and goldsmith in Vienna and worked with jewelers in Bulgaria and Italy. Her handmade hammered white metals with semiprecious and glass stones featured geometric compositions reflecting international Art Deco trends. As the 1920s continued, more women began working in media beyond textiles and decorative painting, extending into glass design and architecture; however, many practical obstacles and social resistance remained. Conversations around anti-decorativism and anti-ornamentation demonized women for their supposedly inherent frivolity, excess, materialism, emotionality, and proclivity for useless decoration, often going so far as to claim women simply incapable of escaping these "natural" drives. Artěl women worked to counter this narrative through the implementation of Functionalist principles in applied arts, and through the argument that psychological and physical comforts (e.g. colorful, textured soft furnishings) could not only coexist with Functionalism, but were required for healthy living within the New Architecture and modern life. These developments will be explored in the final chapter.

Changes on the Horizon

Soon after the Paris exhibition in 1925, Art Deco fell out of favor across Europe, as the new international obsession, Functionalism, emerged triumphant in the applied arts. With the younger generation's rejection of architectural ornament, the Czech National Style proved a short-lived patriotic phenomenon of the postwar era. One of the leaders of the interwar modern movement in Czechoslovak architecture, Karel Teige, was perhaps even more revolted by the Czech National Style than by its prewar predecessor, Czech Cubism. He rejected the idea that buildings such as

Gočár's Legiobanka had any convincing programmatic nationalism and deemed it "clumsy, overcrowded…with a heaviness of color-scheme and form."[344] Teige was also repulsed by their interiors, which he thought resembled "peasant cupboards and Baroque chests."[345] However, already by the 1925 Paris Exposition, even the middle generation of architects was transitioning drastically and quickly into Functionalism, as Janák's and Gočár's main exhibition hall for the Czechoslovak Pavilion demonstrates. Once the new Czech nation had established itself as a modern, democratic, Western nation in the new Europe, there was no longer as strong a need to prove their worthiness through links to a long-standing Czech historical record. The avant-garde instead turned its attention to proving their political parity and aesthetic equality with Western Europe, rather than their difference, through participation in the International Style as it developed across the late 1920s and early 1930s. As Artěl's membership evolved with a younger generation's participation, and the cooperative's leadership changed, so too would its mission and stylistic tendencies.

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[344] Karel Teige, "Moderní architektura v Československu [Modern Architecture in Czechoslovakia]," *MSA* 2 (1930): 103; quoted in Švácha, *The Architecture of New Prague, 1895-1945*, 194, 198.

[345] *Ibid*, 140; quoted in Švácha, 187.

Chapter 4: The International Style and Artěl's Final Years (1925-1934)

> There was a need for that pioneering, and perhaps the victims and losses were necessary, in order for the arts industry to come to the conviction to make its products for the common good ... And the solemn memory of Artěl, throughout the youth of our arts industry, we can conclude with satisfaction.[346]
> –Pavel Janák, *Tvar*, 1948

The turn away from Art Deco and the Czech National Style was stark after the Paris Exposition, the transition among artists and critics having begun in the year or so leading up to the Exposition. The future was already on display in Le Corbusier's L'Esprit nouveau house and Melnikov's Soviet pavilion. What has been called since at least 1932 the "International Style" literally restructured modern architecture to its very skeleton, imposed a strict regularity on individual buildings and on the built environment as a collective whole, and rid its façades of ornamentation.[347] For an exhibition held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1932, architects Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson wrote a survey of the International Style in architecture over the preceding decade, which they had documented in their travels, especially in Europe. They identified three principles of the movement: architecture as volume, regularity, and the avoidance of applied decoration. The new architecture was thus boxy with mostly stark white walls, inside and out, and made use of new

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[346] Pavel Janák, "Z počátků naší umělecké vyroby," *Tvar* I (1948): 94.

[347] Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, *The International Style: Architecture since 1922* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1932).

technologies to increase the surface area that could be used for windows. New architecture in Czechoslovakia featured heavily in the catalogue's 131 pages of example buildings chosen worldwide; however, many of the familiar Czech architects of the avant-garde, such as Pavel Janák, Josef Gočár, Josef Chochol, and Vlastislav Hofman, are not represented. In their place, a younger generation of architects dominated the International Style catalogue: Otto Eisler (1893-1968), Josef Kranz (1901-1968), and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1886-1969). Artěl collaborator Bohuslav Fuchs's Pavilion for the City of Brno at the Brno Exposition for Contemporary Culture in 1928 is also featured. The Czechoslovak buildings represented in the catalogue reveal the rise of a new center of Czech modernism in Brno, Moravia, primarily due to Fuchs's residence and professorship there, which will be discussed below.

Artěl's Transition to Functionalism

While Artěl's sales increased in 1925-1926, due to the Paris exposition and Artěl's participation in other domestic and international trade fairs, the company reported a loss in 1926 of nearly 85,000 crowns, largely due to the costs of moving to a new location at Na Příkopě 20 in 1925, and renovating its façade in 1926 **[FIGURE 150]**.[348] Ladislav Machoň's Functionalist design featured large glazed windows with steel supports and a minimal logo. The new look brought Artěl's visual identity up to

[348] Jiří Fronek, "Artěl…jehož historie jest historií odvahy a průkopnictví [Artěl…whose history is a history of pioneering and courage]," in *Artěl: Umění pro všední den,* edited by Fronek (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 30.

date with the most avant-garde trends in international architecture. The Board of Directors hoped this new location and state-of-the-art storefront would attract new clients and renew interest in Artěl's brand. The investment, however, caused Artěl significant financial losses for the year, and the share capital was reduced by more than half. The only new products on offer were curtain fabrics, painting templates, glass by Oldřich Žák (1900-1983), and ceramics by František Mayerhoffer (1900-1969).[349] The 1927 annual report lamented that the company was unable to respond promptly to the transformations occurring in the modern lifestyle and interior tastes, due to the huge inventory of outdated designs remaining in Artěl's warehouse.[350] Furthermore, the Board's annual report complained of the increase in competition by other applied arts manufacturers who do not invest in quality design or take as much risk as Artěl. In order to try to sell off the group's older inventory to make space and resources for new products, František Kavalír purchased a large sample collection, which was deemed the "Artěl Museum" and housed in his own home. It would prove immensely beneficial to the preservation of Artěl's history, when in the 1950s his collection was purchased from his heirs by the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague. Further, thanks to exhibitions abroad, such as an arts bazaar held in 1926 at the Society of Nations in Geneva, Artěl managed to sell off its older inventory. Business relationships were also established in Australia and Japan, according to the annual

[349] *Ibid.*

[350] Artěl, "Annual Report," (1927).

report. Domestic sales events were held in conjunction with a Sokol Festival[351] and in České Budějovice and Chrudím, as well.

A testament to Artěl's early success in fulfilling their mission to develop a market for Czech applied arts industry, several new competitors in the market of modernist design for the home emerged in the 1920s in Czechoslovakia. On the one hand, the founders and affiliates of Artěl could be satisfied with their contributions in this field, but the rise of competitors only deepened their challenges in a financially unstable decade. In 1922, the Družstevní práce (DP) [Cooperative Work] (1922-1957) publishing house opened in Prague to support Czech writers, artists, designers, producers, and distributors of modern applied arts. The intent for the cooperative-based publishing house was, much like Artěl's mission, to provide education and cultural values to the everyday Czech citizen at a low cost. In 1927, by which time DP boasted 5000 members, the organization established Krásná jizba [Beautiful Room], a company through which to sell the products of Czech Functionalists. Krásná jizba opened a shop in Prague on Národní třída, as well as a dozen other branch locations across Czechoslovakia, including Brno and Uherské Hradište **[FIGURES 151-152]**.[352] Artěl's continued influence on the applied arts industry is evident in the number of its affiliates who partook in the establishment of DP and

[351] The Sokol organization was founded in 1862 by Miroslav Tyrš and Jindřich Fügner as a patriotic movement to encourage physical and moral training for the nation's citizens. During the interwar period, the Sokol society in Czechoslovakia had 630,000 members. They organized gymnastics events, festivals, lectures, group outings, and other community events.

[352] Lucie Vlčková and Alice Hekrdlová, eds., *Krásná jizba dp: Design pro demokracii (1927-1948) [Beautiful Room Cooperative Work: Design for Democracy]* (Prague: Kant, 2018): 43. The word "jizba" is an archaic term for a simple rural living space. The choice of this word over the more modern Czech words for room, such as "pokoj" or "místnost" point to Krásná jizba's interest in creating design for the modern masses that was still rooted in national traditions or at least appealed to the patriotism of the modern Czechoslovak citizen.

Krásná jizba, including Ladislav Sutnar, Pavel Janák, František Kysela, Jaroslav Horejc, and Antonín Kybal (1901-1971). Other Artěl members regularly supplied designs to Krásná jizba, as well, including Jaroslava Vondráčková, Helena Johnová, Marie Teinitzerová, and Božena Pošepná. The DP, Krásná jizba, and the SČSD would all move into the new Functionalist Dům uměleckého průmyslu [House of Arts Industry], designed by Oldřich Starý at Národní třída 36 in 1936 **[FIGURE 153]**, centralizing the Czechoslovak applied arts industry in one shared space. Unfortunately, by that time, Artěl was already a memory, having filed for bankruptcy in 1934.

Jaroslava Vondráčková Leads Artěl

Following their successes at the 1925 Paris Exposition, the women of Artěl became increasingly important to the group's development in the late 1920s. Their work during this time would prove far more experimental and avant-garde than in the previous two decades. In addition to increased educational opportunities and societal changes in perspectives on women's roles, the greater freedom afforded Artěl's women artists after 1925 was thanks in large part to an unprecedented change in leadership. Jaroslava Vondráčková **[FIGURE 154]**, who began collaborations with Artěl in the mid-1920s, took over management of Artěl in 1927, leading the group into its final years of success and innovation before the economic and political crisis unfolding across Europe brought on the company's demise. Before becoming President of Artěl, Vondráčková opened a studio and shop with fellow Artěl member Božena Pošepná in 1926. Both women worked primarily in textiles with non-

traditional and waste materials, such as scraps of felt, old stockings, strips of leather, and bark. While promoting the contemporary principles of simplicity, hygiene and affordability of Functionalist interiors, Vondráčková studied folk textiles in Slovakia, Russia and the Caucasus, and Pošepná studied ancient weaving techniques, mostly devoid of decorative, representational details, in the mountains on the Polish border. As a partnership, they worked to bring the efficiency and functionalism of traditional textiles into the glass and steel of modern interiors. They believed that the material itself was alive and that the artistry of textiles was found in their structure, texture, and color harmonies.

As was true from the beginning of Artěl, the group continued during this time to develop in conversation with other modernist movements throughout Western and Eastern Europe. Vondráčková, for example, visited the Bauhaus and kept in close contact with Croatian artist Otti Berger (1898-1944/5) of the weaving workshop, whose influence encouraged Vondráčková to experiment with artificial fibers, brighter color palettes, and machine-weaving **[FIGURES 155-156]**.[353] Vondráčková's curtains in the late 1920s omit the stylized decorative details of Artěl's earlier curtain products by Marie Teinitzerová, favoring the geometric simplicity of color-blocking, stripes, and bands of overlapping colored lines instead. In 1928, Vondráčková's male colleagues criticized her brightly colored fabrics at the Brno Exhibition of Contemporary Culture. She recounted:

> […] While talking about art in Prague cafés […] the boys, Havlíček, Honzík, and Teige, condemned me for my use of color. I defended myself that I'm

[353] Martina Pachmanová, *Neznámá území: českého moderního umění: pod lupou gender [Unknown Territories of Czech Modern Art: Gender Through the Looking Glass]* (Prague: Argo, 2004): 55.

> killing all those old 'Wolken-stories' with embroidered angels and knitted little birds, and that the pleasant lightness, colors, airiness, and transparency break the old-fashioned and stupid gloominess of dark apartments with thick wool draperies on windows and doors; I wanted to move away from the lack of light and of fresh air in the domestic 'museum.'"[354]

Vondráčková placed the emphasis of her designs on the material's structure and natural aesthetic. She commented: "You can feel their charm by touch and visually in color, weaving structure, softness or roughness, glossy or matte surface. The purity of the material itself is a source of emotions: the melody of the structure is created by movement, the oscillation of weft-stretched shuttles."[355] Some of Vondráčková's innovative textile designs were featured on the 1932 cover of the magazine of modern interior style, *Žijeme [Living]* **[FIGURE 157]** and in a feature article within the issue.[356] Compositions of geometric fragments against a dark background achieve a dynamic play of contrast and forms, resembling in fabric the contemporary photomontage. Printed in black and white, even color cannot lend any decoration here—the material and its inherent aesthetic qualities stand on their own. These material samples of various textures reveal some of Vondráčková's collage-like experiments in her textiles of the late 1920s and early 1930s.

Textiles were seen by many Functionalist architects as antithetical to the movement's principles of hygiene and minimalism. The concept of textiles as mere

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[354] Jaroslava Vondráčková, in *Jarmark umění*, edited by Karel Teige (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1964): 9; quoted in *ibid*, 56.

[355] Vondráčková, "Doplňky skoro dekorační [Almost Decorative Accessories]," *Žijeme* II (1932-1933): 139-141; quoted in Vlčková, *Krásná jizba dp*, 131.

[356] Pachmanová, *Neznámá území,* 56-57.

decoration had to be overcome, and Vondráčková and Pošepná were leading figures in this debate. Ultimately, textiles would turn out to be the best-selling products of Artěl in the late 1920s and of Krásná jizba in the 1930s, as customers still demanded the comfort and privacy afforded by rugs, pillows, and curtains. Vlčková writes, "Textiles began to be perceived in new contexts—for example, as a design component of furniture, as a co-creator of the perception of architectural space (light effects through curtains), as an individualizing element, and as a successfully standardized interior product (basic ranges of knotted carpets and tapestries)."[357] The works produced by Vondráčková and Pošepná from the mid-1920s, as well as Artěl affiliates Antonín Kybal and Marie Teinitzerová from the late-1920s, are responsible for this shift in thought about the textile medium among Functionalist designers and architects. Their geometric patterns and use of color as pattern, which highlight the structures and textures of their woven textiles, afforded unique haptic and optical qualities to Functionalist interiors. In an article entitled, "Almost Decorative Accessories," Vondráčková wrote about her textiles in *Žijeme*: "You will feel their magic by touch and visually in color. Purity of the material itself is a source of emotion: the melody of the structure is created by movement, the oscillation of shuttles with a weft tightened by a warp."[358] Artěl successfully adapted the modern, minimalist, industrial aesthetic to one of the most traditional handicraft media.

[357] Vlčková, "Textil," in *Krásná jizba a dp*, 129.

[358] Jaroslava Vondráčková, "Doplňky skoro dekorační [Almost Decorative Accessories]," *Žijeme* II (1932-1933): 139-141.

Vondráčková's initiatives in 1927 and 1928 steered Artěl back into a period of profits. During her tenure, the group ramped up advertising efforts, focusing more on daily newspapers to reach a broader audience. Vondráčková's foreign contacts allowed her to market Artěl's goods in Germany, England, Scandinavia, France, and Switzerland, as well as to sell foreign products, primarily from the Bauhaus, through Artěl.[359] She brought on board several younger Czech artists, including glass artist Ludvíka Smrčková (1903-1991), ceramicist/sculptor Julie Horová-Kováčiková (1906-1978) and architect/furniture designer Hana Kučerová-Záveská (1904-1940), to update Artěl's product inventory with contemporary designs for pillows, scarves, leather goods, lamp shades, ceramics, small decorative sculptures, and other items.[360] Vondráčková and Pošepná also contributed new designs for curtains, tablecloths, and blankets. Artěl participated in exhibitions in Copenhagen, Leipzig, Bratislava, and České Budějovice, while another order of glass was exported to Australia.[361] In 1927, Artěl's sales increased to 941,657 crowns, and 1928 saw a further increase of almost 200,000 crowns. After losses in 1925-1926, Artěl could again boast small profit margins in its annual reports, thanks to Vondráčková's efforts to bring in new collaborators and inventory, promoted through new avenues of advertising to the wider public.

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[359] Fronek, 31; Naděžda Blažíčková-Horová, *19th Century Art: Guide to the Collection of the National Gallery in Prague* (Prague: National Gallery, 2002): 104.

[360] Fronek, 31.

[361] *Ibid.*

The Woman Question and Functionalism

Over the course of the 1920s and 1930s, efforts to rid modern architecture and design of ornamentation were often gendered in rhetoric and intention. Adolf Loos's highly-influential essay, "Ornament and Crime" (1908) was published in Czech translation in 1922, and again in the arts magazine *Náš směr* in 1924-1925. At a time when anti-decorativism was gaining support among the Czech avant-garde, his vitriol for fashion and his elevation of utilitarianism struck a chord. He directly linked the "criminality" of ornament to women, whom he saw as the antithesis of modernity. A survey published by Loos in *Náš směr* (1910-1926) reads:

> The utilitarian object lives on thanks to the durability of its material, and its modern value consists precisely in its solidity. When I abuse a utilitarian object by turning it into an ornament, I shorten its existence by consigning it to the early death of all fashion. Such murders committed against the material can only be caused by the whims and ambitions of woman—for the ornament in the service of woman will live forever. […] woman's ornament comes from the savages, it has erotic significance.[362]

Men were not the only culprits of this misogynist rhetoric surrounding handicrafts and ornamentation. One woman journalist wrote in *Náš směr*, "In today's era, when everywhere and in everything the desire is growing for simplicity and usefulness, there are, unfortunately, those, predominantly women, who adorn every object, whether produced themselves or by others, in a laborious and wasteful manner."[363] She went on to connect the tenants of Functionalism to women's emancipation: "Let us

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[362] Adolf Loos, "Anketa [Survey]," *Náš směr [Our Direction]* 11 (1924-1925): 51; translated in Martina Pachmanová, "The Poverty of the Matriarchal Ornament and the Gleam of the Civilised Woman," in *A Reader in East-Central-European Modernism, 1918-1956,* edited by Beáta Hock, Klara Kemp-Welch, and Jonathan Owen, eds. (London: Courtauld Books Online, 2019): 193.

[363] Hana Cejnarová, "Ženské ruční a domáci práce [Women's Hand and House Work]," *Náš směr* 11 (1925-1926): 65; translated in *ibid*, 192.

spare our health, our time, and thus also our money, let us buy things that are cheaper, machine-produced, functional and tasteful, let us devote this precious time to our families and not, for the sake of our outdated whims, deny our children their right to a mum!"[364] This emancipatory argument in the crusade against ornament gained traction in the late 1920s, expressed in the 1929 *Civilisovaná žena [Civilized Woman]* exhibition held in Brno **[FIGURE 158]**. While male artists and critics of the time "saw the death of the ornament as enabling the birth of the free woman: a rational, modern, and civilized woman who 'successfully collaborates with us men on progress and human work,' […] it was predominantly a matter of creating a woman who was standardized and 'functionalized,'"[365] which still removed women' agency in a dialogue unfolding primarily between men.

Some women at the time, such as translator Božena Králíková-Stránská, pointed out the contradictions of some of the new era's most orthodox adherents and approached anti-ornamentation from a different angle—that of social class. In response to lectures given in Brno by Adolf Loos, Le Corbusier, and Amédée Ozenfant, she wrote: "To take Loos's arguments to heart would mean covering one's furniture in grain alcohol and setting fire to it, then burning the carpets, the pictures the window frames—and finally the whole house. The essential message of his lecture was: artists—get your hands off everything surrounding us in this world."[366]

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[364] Cejnarová, 67; translated in *ibid*, 203.

[365] *Ibid*, 196. Pachmanová quotes here the exhibition catalogue: *Civilisovaná žena*, edited by Jan Vaněk and Zdeněk Rossmann (Brno: Jan Vaněk, 1929): 9.

[366] Božena Králíková-Stránská, "Ornament a život [Ornament and Life]," *Prítomnost [Present]* 2 (February 1925): 54.

Králíková-Stránská pointed to the source of income, especially for women, provided by cultural heritage production outside urban areas, which would be heavily impacted by the destructive iconoclasm of the avant-garde. She advocated for better organization of folk handicraft production across Czechoslovakia and for individual artistic work to "be retained, though not as a tool for the creation of luxuries, but rather as a means of enabling real art—that is, work that was individual and unrepeatable."[367] She concludes, "modern culture does not tear down the prosperity of one class, but builds the prosperity of all."[368] Ultimately, women artists involved in Artěl sought to humanize Functionalism through a thoughtful and inventive marriage of handcraft production and industrial production. They shared the orthodox Functionalists' progressive vision for a new organization of society, but rather than "achieving this [solely] in the embrace of manufacturing production and standardized forms," Artěl "first sought to connect art with life by means of a dialogue between matter and spirit."[369]

Besides Jaroslava Vondráčková, other important female Artěl affiliates continued to experiment in their respective media with the integration of Functionalist aesthetics and principles into handcrafted design. Helena Johnová, for example, ramped up her work in figural ceramics again, after several years of decreased output while focusing on pedagogy at the School of Applied Arts. In the late 1920s these works took on a more modern appeal, representing the New Woman in three

[367] Pachmanová, "The Poverty of the Matriarchal Ornament," 200.

[368] Králíková-Stránská, 53.

[369] Pachmanová, "The Poverty of the Matriarchal Ornament," 202.

dimensions **[FIGURE 159]**. Johnová uses colored glazes and expert modeling to achieve lifelike, dignified portraits of her civilian subjects. *Miss Burianová* (1931) looks chic and fashionable, wearing a blue-collared dress and a black beret over her bobbed haircut, her youthful face punctuated by bright coral lipstick. She could easily be featured in one of the many women's magazines circulating at the time. Johnová also sculpted portraits of women professionals, including art historian Naděžda Melniková-Papoušková (1891-1978) and concert singer and teacher Anna Pečírková (1894-1983).

In addition to her new direction in portraiture, Johnová developed utilitarian ceramics in the 1920s, including several tea services featuring red or red and blue stripes around the rims or middle of otherwise white vessels **[FIGURE 160]**. She exhibited these sets at the 1928 Brno Exhibition, entered them into juried contests she won, and sold them through Krásná jizba. While utilitarian and minimally decorated, these services maintain a thick, heavy form compared to the sleek new tea services Ladislav Sutnar began to design around the same time **[FIGURE 161]**. Johnová's vessels recall traditional hand-made earthenware forms, while Sutnar's simple, unadorned, delicate, rounded forms advertised in contemporary photography in Krásná jizba catalogues and exhibition photographs appear to have arrived straight from the factory assembly line. Other Artěl women, such as Minka Podhajská, who had only applied painted decoration to homewares designed by men before the First World War, also began to develop utilitarian ceramics and glassware designs during the postwar period. Martina Pachmanová points out, however, the inconsistencies in classification and valuation of some women's work in relation to the same types of

design by men. For example, Johnová's figural ceramics were typically still grouped with decorative ceramics in exhibits and reviews, while prewar Cubist sculptor Otto Gutfreund's 1920s "civilist" ceramic portraits and figures were typically classified as sculpture **[FIGURE 162]**.[370] Both represented the new characters of modern life in Czechoslovakia, but the artist's gender alone affected the categorization, promotion, and reception of their work.[371]

As it was in the early 1920s, lace remained throughout the decade and into the 1930s an important medium in which women designers experimented with modern techniques and ideas. Marie Sedláčková-Serbousková, still inspired by the folk traditions of lacemaking in the Orlice region on the mountainous border of Czechoslovakia and Poland, continued to push the boundaries of the medium in new directions in the late 1920s. Folk heritage served as "an alternative source of inspiration for the creation of a new construction, structure and abstract language of modern art,"[372]—an alternative to the machine-aesthetic as inspiration. In addition to Sedláčková-Serbousková's abstract placemats and table coverings **[FIGURE 163]**, other lace makers, such as Emilie Paličková-Mildeová incorporated modern scenes and characters from contemporary life into their lace designs **[FIGURE 164]**. Lace

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[370] Pachmanová, *Neznámá území,* 49. Civilism is a term that some scholars have used to refer to the post-war Czech movement embodied by Gutfreund's sculpture—"a form of faux-naif Realism to celebrate the 'poetry of modern civilization.'" See Elizabeth Clegg, *Art, Design & Architecture in Central Europe, 1890-1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006): 235.

[371] Jiří Hořava notes, for example, that even though we have other documentation that Johnová participated in the 1928 Brno Exhibition of Contemporary Czechoslovak Culture, her name was excluded in the catalogue of 800 works and hundreds of artists. That is not congruent with the popularity of her work, which was exhibited widely at home and abroad and well-received during these years. Hořava, *První dáma české keramiky: Helena Johnová (1884-1962)* (České Budějovice: Měsíc ve dne, 2017): 96.

[372] Pachmanová, *Neznámá území,* 46.

remained a gendered medium in which there were no practicing male artists, giving women lace-makers full freedom to drive the industry in whatever directions they liked, but also limiting the audience for their craft. As far as surviving documents and reproductions indicate, lace was not featured among Krásná jizba's offerings, for example.

In addition to shifting toward more experimentation with traditional techniques and media, some women affiliated with Artěl significantly pushed the traditional boundaries of media considered men's versus women's work. Artěl's first woman architect and furniture designer, Hana Kučerová-Záveská, is discussed in conjunction with the 1928 Brno Exhibition of Contemporary Culture and the Baba Housing Estate below. Another new addition to Artěl's circle, Ludvíka Smrčková, became a celebrated utilitarian glass designer during the late 1920s and 1930s. In the early years of Artěl, women only decorated glassware designed by men with painted patterns. Smrčková designed modern, Functionalist glassware that competed successfully with that of her male colleagues in Artěl, Krásná jizba, and the SČSD. **[FIGURES 165-166]**. In 1928, Smrčková's glassware was chosen among designs entered into a competition as a new product to add to Krásná jizba's inventory. She also exhibited her work at the 1928 Brno Exhibition of Contemporary Culture. In the spirit of Functionalism, she designed thin-walled forms and austere shapes to highlight the simple beauty of the material. As Ladislav Sutnar took over leadership of Krásná jizba in the late 1920s, the organization's marketing strategy shifted from advertising "precious glass items" to "noble items of industrial art."[373] Sutnar sought

[373] Vlčková and Hekrdlová, eds., *Krásná jizba dp,* 166.

"the simplest possible solution to meet the requirements for practical use with high utility value," and strove to create full sets of affordable tableware that could be industrially mass-produced.[374] In 1931, he designed a glass tea set, using technology invented for laboratory glass, and marketed it as a novelty of material and form **[FIGURE 167]**. An advertisement for the set reads:

> In Eastern countries—Poland, Ukraine, and Russia—where tea replaces our coffee, tea sets are made of glass. It's more hygienic and tasteful. The beautiful color of the tea stands out only in clear, crystal glass. Gourmets don't drink tea in anything other than glass. We want to teach our audience to drink tea from glass cups too. We have created a tea set for them, which we are proud of, because it has three characteristics we demand from every modern utility item: it is hygienic (glass is the most hygienic material ever); it is effective (you can easily recognize the strength of the tea, and the tea cools quickly); it has an aesthetic appearance. The material is resistant to temperature changes and does not crack.[375]

Smrčková pushed her own work in these directions, inventing new forms of utilitarian glass, such as her wreath vases for table settings **[FIGURE 166]**. She harnessed new techniques invented in industrial glass-cutting to maximize the optical effects of light on crystal. Even her most Functionalist designs reflect her desire to bring "decoration," in the form of nature and flowers, into the Functionalist, minimalist interior. Her design allows for that in a very modern, innovative form. The clear glass does not hide any aspect of the arrangement it might hold—the beauty of both the designed object and the natural form it contains are on full display.

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[374] *Ibid*, 169. Vlčková notes that there was a high percentage of defective items produced in the manufacturing process, and two categories of quality were sold in Krásná jizba's collection. The price, although slightly lower than that of comparable products, did not really ensure mass affordability. However, one of Sutnar's designs for ceramic dinnerware sold 10,000 sets, making it the most popular product of Krásná jizba and an icon of Czechoslovak design. Customers could purchase sets piece-by-piece over time, or in bulk at a discount, p. 51.

[375] Advertisement for Tea Service by Ladislav Sutnar, *Žijeme* (1931); reproduced in *ibid*, 186.

Finally, in its third decade, Artěl had become a truly supportive organization for the professionalization and advancement of women artists and their artistic careers, as their activities, products, and notoriety during this period make evident. The importance of Jaroslava Vondráčková's position as President of the Cooperative during the late 1920s cannot be overstated—she used this position of power to enable opportunities for other women in the arts industry. The irony is that just the moment when women finally had the opportunity to become autonomous free-thinkers, respected as true artists in their own right, was also the moment when, for the first time in modern history, the value of individual authorship was called into question.[376] Furthermore, it was the moment when the degradation of ornament and decoration as a feminine impulse reached a crescendo among the avant-garde in Central Europe.

Brno—A New Center of Czechoslovak Modernism

Brno, capital of the Moravian state of Czechoslovakia and the second-largest city in the Republic, became an important center for architecture and design in the 1920s. Before the war, the city was largely dominated by German-Czech culture.[377] After the war, a strategic move was made to expand and "Czechify" Brno by folding several neighboring villages into the city's boundaries. Several universities were

[376] Pachmanová, *Neznámá území,* 57.

[377] A revealing point of history is that the first Czech educational institution in the arts in Brno, the Club of Friends of Art, was only founded in 1900. See Marta Filipová, "Výstava jako symbol národa a státu: Výstava soudobé kultury v Československu, 1928 [The Exhibition as a Symbol of Nation and State: the 1928 Exhibition of Contemporary Culture in Czechoslovakia]," in *Umění a politika. 4. sjezd českých historiků umění [Art and Politics: 4th Congress of Czech Art Historians],* edited by Ondrej Jakubec and Radka Miltová (Brno: Masaryková univerzita, 2013).

founded after 1918, and Brno became the seat of the Czechoslovak Supreme Court. Additionally, many factories opened, and Brno positioned itself as a central transportation hub within the new country. As the city grew and prospered, many wealthy local residents commissioned villas in the Functionalist style by rising star architects. Most famously, Fritz and Greta Tugendhat commissioned German architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe to build their Tugendhat Villa in 1928-1930. By that point, the applied arts industry was well established in Brno. In 1921, Jan Vaněk (1891-1962) became the first director of the Spojené uměleckoprůmyslové závody a.s. Brno (UP) [United Industry of Applied Arts in Brno], a merger of several smaller companies, including the Arts and Crafts Workshop in Trebíč and the Brno firm of Karel Slavíček and Jan Vaněk. The UP specialized in furniture design, as well as other elements of the Functionalist interior. During the 1920s, the UP opened their headquarters in Brno, as well as a shop in Prague's Lucerna Palace, headed by Jindřich Halabala (1903-1978), who had trained with Pavel Janák at the School of Applied Arts in Prague and remains known for his tubular steel armchairs and bent-wood recliners. The company published the influential magazine *Bytová kultura* [*Housing Culture*] between 1924 and 1925. By the 1940s, the UP would become one of the largest furniture manufacturers in Europe. While Artěl participated in exhibitions with designers based in Brno, the Prague-based Cooperative was already too economically strained to tap into the new market in the Moravian capital. Krásná jizba and the SČSD, on the other hand, made sure to create branches of their organizations in Brno, broadening their memberships and sales, and helping to

expand the Czechoslovak arts industry across the Republic. Krásná jizba would expand further with a branch in Bratislava, Slovakia, as well.

Another reason for Brno's rise to fame as a center of modern architecture and applied arts was the presence of architect Bohuslav Fuchs, who settled in Brno in 1922 after studying under Jan Kotěra at the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague between 1916 and 1919 and working in Kotěra's studio until 1921. As an architect for the Municipal Building Office in Brno, Fuchs would become one of the leading Functionalist architects in the city and part of what became known as the Brno School of Architecture. He was a prolific architect, completing over 100 buildings in his career, in addition to numerous designs on paper. As an affiliate of Artěl, he served as an important point of contact or bridge between the Cooperative and Brno in the 1920s.

1928 Exhibition of Contemporary Culture in Brno

In 1928, Brno staged the Exhibition of Contemporary Culture, which was organized by the SČSD. This was the last major exhibition in which Artěl would participate as a cohesive group with their own exhibits. The organizers declared that the exhibition should not be a continuation of the arts-and-crafts exhibitions of the past, but should be "based on the real needs of today, and on the true conditions of our life, to try and solve the questions of new applied art within the framework of a comprehensive understanding of the housing culture, and in accordance with the

requirements of efficiency and high-quality production of a democratic society."[378] Marta Filipová discusses the nation-building significance of the exhibition, as well as some of its ancillary aims. Officially, it was meant to celebrate the progress of Czechoslovakia's first decade, including cultural, technical, economic, and social advancements.[379] The exhibition was organized like the many international world's fairs to date, in which participating locations and organizations built their own pavilions—the city of Prague, and the city of Brno had their own exhibition pavilions, for example, as did the SČSD **[FIGURES 168-169]**. The exhibition houses were meant to display the new architecture of modern, democratic, and industrially-developed Czechoslovakia, including model homes, as well as showpiece special-purpose exhibition spaces.

Artěl affiliate and SČSD member Hana Kučerová-Záveská designed a three-room apartment interior within the SČSD residential living exhibits, which brought her new business and more opportunities to collaborate with Artěl and the SČSD **[FIGURE 170]**. Her minimally furnished living room and dining room demonstrate the new principles of hygienic Functionalist interiors, while also retaining the human comforts of curtains and upholstered furniture. Artěl exhibited two interiors in Hall No. 2, including furniture, ceramics, and sculpture by Vlastislav Hofman and Karel Honzík, as well as textiles from the workshops of Jaroslava Vondráčková and Božena Pošepná **[FIGURES 171-172]**.[380] Gone were the days of exhibit rooms lined with

[378] Quoted in Fronek, 31.

[379] Filipová, "Výstava jako symbol národa a státu."

[380] Fronek, 31.

display cases full of decorative and utilitarian wares. For the Brno Exhibition, Artěl curated and staged Functionalist living spaces like their colleagues' exhibits for Krásná jizba and the SČSD.

The exhibition was visited by more than 2.5 million people across four months, averaging about 19,000 visitors per day.[381] Most came from the surrounding regions of Moravia and Silesia, with many less visitors from Bohemia to the west and Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia to the east. Unsurprisingly, there was lower interest from the Czech capital of Prague, whose inhabitants were used to seeing their own city as the site of all important cultural events. The exhibition primarily served then to introduce a new urban Moravian audience to modern ideas and design; however, it also helped increase Czech awareness of Brno as a burgeoning city of contemporary Czech culture and arts industry. Like many Czech exhibitions since the nineteenth century, the Brno exhibition also connected its modern present to a rich, long-standing local diversity of culture, showing off folk arts of southern and eastern Moravia.

Baba Housing Estate (1928-1932)

Heartened by the Brno exhibition in 1928, as well as an influential exhibition of modern housing in Stuttgart, Germany in 1927, the SČSD planned a Czech Functionalist housing estate and exhibition of modern housing in Prague. The desired land was identified in November 1928, and the design competition was announced in

[381] Filipová, "Výstava jako symbol národa a státu."

December 1929, but it took several more years to complete the purchase and obtain the permits to begin building.[382] The SČSD purchased a plot of recently rezoned farmland for residential development on top of a promontory, overlooking the river with a view of Prague. Named for the nearby ruins of ancient fortifications known as Baba, the Baba Housing Estate was planned on three parallel streets **[FIGURES 173-174]**. Pavel Janák was the principal urban planner and recruited architects to participate from across three different generations, most of whom were members of the SČSD and/or Artěl. Only one non-Czech participated, the Dutch architect living in Germany, Mart Stam (1899-1986). Several Artěl affiliates participated in building one or more of the estate's 32 structures, including Pavel Janák, František Kavalír, Hana Kučerová-Záveská, and Ladislav Machoň. Janák designed his own house **[FIGURE 175]**, while Emilie Paličková-Mildeová (with her husband Jiří Palička) and Ladislav Sutnar commissioned houses designed by other architect colleagues **[FIGURES 176-178]**. Plans for houses by Jaromír Krejcar and Otakar Novotný were never realized. The structures were composed of compact boxes and rectangles, utilizing reinforced steel skeletons, and ribbon glass windows wrapping around multiple sides to increase the amount of light coming in throughout the day. The ceilings were made of reinforced concrete in every Baba home. Almost all had a rooftop terrace with a view of Prague, some thermally insulated with cork. One home featured a newly-invented hot-air central heating system. Most of the interiors were floored with linoleum, rubber, and Xylolith (also known as woodstone). The exterior

[382] Stephan Templ notes that the land was purchased for 75 crowns per square meter in Stephan Templ, *Baba: The Werkbund Housing Estate, Prague* (Basel: Birkhauser, 1999): 21.

and interior walls were white and devoid of ornamentation.[383] The beauty of the new Functionalism sprang from its visible structural components, modern materials, hygiene, and utility.

Historian Stephan Templ points to the luxury nature of the Baba Housing Estate, for which Leftist critics, such as Karel Teige, strongly condemned the SČSD's project:

> As opposed to places such as Germany and Austria, where the New Architecture movement was being carried by the Social Democrats, here in Bohemia and Moravia the bourgeoisie was the driving force. The left scorned the style as State functionalism, claiming that it was nothing but stylistic platitudes, like the flat roof and the strip window. It used the Werkbund housing estate to clearly convey its theses: Baba is not a solution to the housing question; it is a monument of the bourgeoisie and not an instrument for changing society.[384]

The housing estate was financed by private clients, who desired single-family villas with private gardens, not row-houses or mass public housing complexes. Proposals by Bohuslav Fuchs, Karel Honzík, Josef Havlíček for row-housing using prefabricated components were ultimately rejected for lack of buyer interest.[385] Nevertheless, the many architects who participated in the project were able to experiment with new ideas of the era in a range of individual styles and purpose-built homes for specific types of clients (e.g. large single families, childless couples, and single occupants). The estate became a sort of artists' or intellectuals' colony—"the painter lived next

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[383] *Ibid*, 11. Templ writes that "the pretentious, well-bred façades of the Hapsburg empire belonged to history. White, smooth, geometrically simple forms were a protest and at the same time the new trademark of the young State."

[384] *Ibid.*

[385] *Ibid*, 26.

door to the museum director, the author and composer to his publisher, the architect to his graphic artist […] among the president of Charles University, head officials of governmental ministries, and diplomats."[386] Artists associated with the SČSD and Artěl were no longer the most progressive wing of the avant-garde, as one could argue they were before the First World War. As they continued to cater to the upper-middle class, instead of pioneering ways to make their high-quality, individually-designed work available to the masses, a new group of architects and designers associated with Karel Teige and the architecture journal *Stavba [Construction]* (1922-1938) put cheap, standardized, mass-produced design at the forefront of their endeavors. The SČSD and Artěl continued to value the artist's individuality and, in the case of architecture and interior design, comfort over cost.

Hana Kučerová-Záveská, one of the first women architects to gain notoriety and success in the twentieth century, designed two houses in Baba, including the largest villa on-site for construction entrepreneur Václav Suk and his family (plus servants' quarters), and a smaller house for songwriter and director of the Copyright Association, Karel Balling (1889-1972) **[FIGURES 179-182]**. Kučerová-Záveská graduated from the School of Decorative Arts in Prague in 1927, having studied under Pavel Janák. Before the Baba Housing Estate, she was primarily an interior designer, which shows in her houses for the Baba Estate. The living areas on the main floor are all connected in one long open plan, which features sliding partitions and curtains to divide rooms when desired. Accordion glass doors open the wall of the

[386] *Ibid,* 13.

dining room onto the patio. Simple furniture forms and minimal furnishings maximize the openness and free flow of air and movement through the space. The bulky, heavy wooden furniture of the prewar years is a distant memory, as Functionalist designers prioritized lightweight, flexible, moveable furniture. Kučerová-Záveská also designed innovative built-in cabinets and room-partitioning furniture that were moveable and expandable **[FIGURE 182]**. The dressing room features her signature use of slatted roller blinds in her built-in furniture, which she left unpainted to show of the natural wood material. Three terraces—one on the ground level leading to the gardens, one off the master bedroom on the second floor, and one on the flat rooftop—emphasize healthy outdoor living where residents could enjoy exercise, sunbathing, and gardening. Furthermore, the house incorporated technologies and luxuries of modern living, such as central heating, an intercom system, and a dumbwaiter.

Based on the house plan, it appears that Kučerová-Záveská incorporated the fashionable Frankfurt Kitchen invented in 1926 by Austrian architect Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky (1897-2000) **[FIGURE 183]**. Labeled as "Ku" (for "kuchyně") on the plan, the Balling House kitchen shows a sink and countertop against the opposite wall of the entrance to the room, with one longer wall of worktops, cabinets and drawers, and a stove. Before the Frankfurt Kitchen project, kitchens were large rooms containing free-standing furniture, sinks, and stoves. Schütte-Lihotzky worked on a major collective housing project in Frankfurt during the mid-1920s to design large, standardized efficient housing complexes to accommodate the rapidly growing population and its modern lifestyle. As part of a team in the Office of Construction

Schütte-Lihotzky proposed the "transformation of the kitchen-living room into a kitchen-machine for work […] [and] thought it necessary to include the total furnishing of the kitchen during the construction of the dwellings, so that it could be financed as part of them."[387] To accomplish these goals, she developed built-in furniture, especially aluminum drawers and pre-fabricated cabinets and worktops for a 70-square-foot plan. The new kitchen would facilitate domestic chores of a housewife and free more of her time for other family, cultural, or leisure activities. For the upper-middle class families financing the Baba Housing Estate, who, with a few exceptions, did not hire a staff of servants, these life improvements enabled by the concept of the minimum dwelling were very appealing.

An exhibition of the housing estate opened on September 7, 1932 to broad public interest. Exhibitions of modern housing had become common in the late 1920s—between 1927 and 1933, thirteen housing exhibitions were held in Czechoslovakia, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, and Italy.[388] They were more visible, and thus more effective in introducing the public to the New Architecture than any print journalism or criticism. The estate and exhibition projects also allowed groups of architects to experiment in conversation and collaboration with each other with new materials, methods of construction, standardization, collective housing, and modern interiors. By the time the Baba Housing Estate opened its doors to the public, Prague's citizens were already becoming used to the

[387] Carmen Espegel, *Women Architects in the Modern Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2018): 178.

[388] Templ, 16.

radical new architecture in public and commercial building projects around Prague and reacted mostly with interest. This was a chance to see it translated into everyday living for the individual and single families. The press reacted favorably to the Housing Exhibition and only lamented that not all of the homes were completed by the time of public viewing. Artěl and SČSD architects would continue to build in the Functionalist style throughout the 1930s, until war interrupted everyday life again and brought an end to the interwar years of Czechoslovak independence and democracy. Those who made it through the war would find their work inhibited on the other side by a new political and economic reality for the remainder of their lives. The ideas and experiments of Functionalism carried on, however, in extreme versions of cheap collective housing under austere conditions of Soviet influence.

Bankruptcy and the End of Artěl

After a short-lived return to prewar economic production in the late 1920s across Europe, the deep recession altered socioeconomic life in Europe by the early 1930s and tipped the political balance of the West once again toward war. In May 1931, Austria's largest bank, the Kreditanstalt, collapsed, causing financial panic across Central Europe. Unemployment rates soared, intensifying social unrest and presenting opportunities for the rise of extremist political parties to ascend to power. For Artěl, the economic instability led to the group's demise by the early 1930s. The Cooperative had always struggled with financial issues, never quite reaching their economic goals. The SČSD and Krásná jizba were able to prosper in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and even weather the war to become active again in the 1940s.

Artěl's gloomier fate can be attributed to multiple factors. First, Artěl did not have the membership base of the SČSD or Krásna jizba, nor did its affiliates pay dues to join.[389] The SČSD and Krásná jizba also established branches of significant activity across Czechoslovakia in the 1920s and 1930s, while Artěl remained a Prague-based operation. Since Artěl already struggled with finances after the First World War, the group did not have the capital to invest in significant wider development. Krásná jizba also had the advantage of the successful publishing house, which allowed the experimental venture into selling interior design to fledge for several years before it became financially stable. Similarly, the SČSD was able to rely on more state support throughout much of the 1920s than Artěl received. Absent these sources of support, the SČSD and Krásná jizba may have suffered the same financial struggles as Artěl. Most importantly, Artěl largely adhered throughout its history to the group's original mission to design high-quality *handcrafted* interior wares, while Krásná jizba was more willing to embrace standardization and mass industrial production. Similar to William Morris's workshops, the Wiener Werkstätte, and other Arts-and-Crafts-inspired applied artists' collectives across Europe, Artěl's model of production simply could not be scaled large enough to support mass production of such individualized, high-quality design at a cost affordable to the average Czech citizen.

In 1928, Artěl was notified of the building owner's intent to sell the house at Na Příkopě, forcing the group yet again to look for a new home. The Board of

[389] Artěl did not have a membership structure at all, only affiliated artists who chose to sell their wares through the collective. The financial records of the business side of the Cooperative are sparse and incomplete, but affiliates and enthusiasts alike purchased shares in the company. Around 1930, the SČSD had 530 members, while Krásná jizba's parent company, the Družstevní práce publishing cooperative, boasted 11,000 members across the country. See Vlčková and Hekrdlová, eds., *Krásná jizba dp*, 79.

Directors with the Svaz československého díla decided to co-purchase a building on Národní třída for 5.3 million crowns. The plan was to demolish the building and design a modern, Functionalist new structure to serve as the collective House of Arts Industry for multiple applied arts companies and organizations. In 1929, Artěl bought half the building, while the SČSD and an individual, Charles Mrázek, purchased the other half. Artěl soon sold half of their share to the Slovak joint-stock company Detva, which sold folk handicrafts.[390] The building project was supposed to be underway by 1930, but litigation with tenants in the building to be demolished delayed progress, and Artěl was forced to sell its share of the building by 1931, due to its ongoing financial constraints. The House of Arts Industry would finally open in 1936, after Artěl was already relegated to the past.

With the economic crisis in full effect in Czechoslovakia by 1930, Artěl's sales declined sharply, and the group focused again on selling older products, rather than producing any new designs. International and domestic exhibitions of Artěl's products continued, however, with reported exhibitions in London; Pardubice and Hradec Králové in Bohemia; and Bratislava, Slovakia. The group also participated in numerous exhibitions with the SČSD in Osaka, Japan; Bucharest, Romania; and Železny Brod, in Northern Bohemia near Poland.[391] Textiles were the best-selling product in these years, and Artěl was commissioned to furnish the textiles for the Jirásek Theater in Náchod in 1930; however, the successful textile department was

[390] Fronek, 31.

[391] *Ibid,* 33.

not enough to save the Cooperative in dark economic times. Adding to the setback of the group's failure to secure a new home, Jaroslava Vondráčková and Božena Pošepná ultimately left Artěl that year in order to pursue their independent business together.

The promised eviction of tenants at Ladislav Machoň's Artěl storefront on Na Příkopě finally took place in 1932, forcing Artěl to move into a small space on Jungmannová street. Financier František Kavalír unexpectedly passed away that same year, at a time when creditors were increasing pressure on Artěl to repay its debts. A member of the Board of Directors, Jindřich Kloubek (dates unknown), offered to purchase the majority of the company's shares and try to save it from bankruptcy.[392] In the face of the worsening financial crisis across Europe, however, he could not rescue Artěl, and the company declared bankruptcy in 1934. The MAK in Vienna bought some of the remaining stock, while the rest was liquidated in an estate sale in 1935.

Much of Artěl's documentation was "shredded" after its bankruptcy, rendering its history "permanently fragmentary."[393] This is especially true of Artěl's exhibition history and commercial documentation of sales. The purchases of Artěl products by the MAK in Vienna and by František Kavalír in 1927, are the only reason a collection of known Artěl designs remains today.

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[392] *Ibid,* 34.

[393] *Ibid.*

Conclusions

Artěl's continued elevation of handicraft traditions and defense of their place in modern art and life were drowned out in the late 1920s and 1930s by Functionalism's celebration of the machine and disdain for ornament in all its forms; however, the current of hybridity running through Czech architectural and design history was not lost entirely. Significantly, it was Artěl who continued to promote not only a hybrid style between the folk and the modern, but also used mixed methods of working with new technologies and traditional handicrafts, which is perhaps the key to understanding Artěl's significance to Czech design in the first half of the twentieth century. Art historian Lada Hubatová-Vacková accurately summarizes the art historiography of Czech modernism:

> The dominant narrative of art history presents the situation of Czech (or Czechoslovak applied art at the beginning of the 1920s as irreconcilable polarization of two approaches: a conservatively nationalist vs. an innovatively cosmopolitan, an opposition of traditional crafts vs. industrial standard production, decorative against pure and elementary.[394]

Artěl disproves this narrative. Throughout its development, the artists associated with Artěl always sought hybrid styles between the nationalist *and* the cosmopolitan, the traditional *and* the industrial, the decorative *and* the purist.

As the threat of another world war loomed in the 1930s, national autonomy once again was threatened by foreign occupation. After nearly a decade of Functionalist purification, folk-inspired design reemerged in Czechoslovak modern applied arts as a protective measure proclaiming the lasting strength and national

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[394] Lada Hubatová-Vacková, "Art of the People and Art for the People: Folk Craft as a Model for Czechoslovak Modernist Design," *Centropa* 14, no. 3 (2014): 247.

identity of the Czechoslovak Republic. In the late 1930s, Krásná jizba products began to feature wooden crafts, folk fabrics and embroidery, decorated with floral patterns of the folk modernism not widely seen in modernist circles since the mid-1920s **[FIGURES 184-185]**. In 1940, Karel Herain emphasized a de-romanticized perception of folk culture and promoted the "functionality of folk expression."[395] Exhibitions took on a more patriotic sense of importance during the German occupation of Czechoslovakia (1938-1945), "emphasizing more or less covertly the idea of quality national work from Czech material serving Czech households."[396] As the young nation's independence was jeopardized anew, the reliance of Czechoslovak modern artists on folk art and traditional material culture continued to play a vital role in the creation and maintenance of a Czechoslovak state.

The importance of preserving an identifiably Czech national visual culture is still evident today across the Czech Republic, especially the enterprise since 1989 to rediscover the suppressed history of Czech modernism across the twentieth century. As a strong wave of nationalism sweeps across the globe in response to the 2008 global financial crisis and more recent refugee crisis caused by ISIS and the Syrian War, with remarkable and uncanny similarities to the political and economic landscape of the 1930s, the desire to hold onto evidence of long-standing traditions—invented or tangible—is not likely to cede to a global world culture. In fact, one can argue that globalist claims and conjectures of the past several decades, as the Internet

[395] Karel Herain, "Kalendář DP," *Panorama* XVIII (1940): 148.

[396] Iva Knobloch, "Krásná jizba a Svaz československého díla jako modernizační hnutí [Beautiful Room and the Czechoslovak Werkbund as Modernizing Forces]" in *Krásná jizba a dp*, edited by Vlčková and Hekrdlová, 81.

and creation of the European Union have further devalued borders and cultural differences, have only stimulated a stronger urgency to cling to tradition and the sense of belonging that nationalist (often xenophobic) narratives afford individuals in a frightening world of economic and social instability.

Artěl's Contributions to Modernism and its Histories

Material and visual culture cannot be adequately interpreted in a vacuum of formal analysis. Going beyond a monographic history of the Artěl Cooperative and its products, this dissertation situates Artěl, as a complex, multi-faceted arts organization, within its sociocultural and political contexts across two and a half decades of sweeping change and modernization in the Czech Lands. This endeavor provides a more nuanced narrative of the development of the modern Czech arts industry and the architectural and design avant-gardes than previous studies of Artěl and its peer artist collectives. Many archival records have been lost to censorship or apathy throughout the turbulent political history of the twentieth century, as well as in devastating floods of the twenty-first century, which impacted some museums in Prague particularly hard, such as the National Technical Museum. These losses limit the scope of the development of the Czech arts industry available to scholars today. However, in a further study, more could be teased out from arts magazines and the popular press, as well as exhibition catalogs, about the relationships between the many artist groups and cooperatives that operated in Prague and across Czechoslovakia during these years. A network analysis of the artists associated with Artěl and many of their other known group affiliations demonstrates the

interconnectedness of the Czech applied arts avant-garde **[FIGURE 186]**. Artěl clearly stands as a central group, full of principal figures who served as bridges between many artists and other artist collectives in Prague and beyond, across the development of Czech modernism and the modern arts industry.

One of the key aspects of Artěl is the emergence of women artists among avant-garde arts circles in Prague and beyond. Could Arts and Crafts movements and organizations across Europe have developed at all or have been as successful without the involvement of women? In Central Europe, where folk traditions and handicraft production played such an integral role in formulating modern styles and modern arts industry, the answer to that question is likely negative. Could women have become a part of the avant-garde when they did, if not for the ideals of the Arts and Crafts movement? From May Morris in England and the MacDonald sisters in Scotland, to the many women contributors to the Wiener Werkstätte, to the women of Artěl and other groups in Eastern Europe, the Arts and Crafts movement was a sharp turning point for women artists. In workshops and studios, and at the School of Decorative Arts, the earlier generations of Artěl women served as mentors and educators to the youngest. Their inroads into the avant-garde and higher education, while always limited by slowly-collapsing societal constructs, paved the way for incremental changes in a progression that led ultimately to the fundamental feminist aspects of Postmodernism.

Despite such progress, women's work remained relatively shaded in the background of Artěl, the SČSD, and even Krásná jizba, compared to the work of their male peers. This can be attributed to multiple factors that were yet to be overcome by

the Second World War. One factor is the lack of female leadership opportunities. One can see what impact Jaroslava Vondráčková's unusual position as President of Artěl in the late 1920s had in terms of increasing opportunities for other women. Another limiting factor for women, still connected to all-male leadership, was their lack of representation as theorists and writers in the many arts magazine published by the artist collectives of the first four decades of the twentieth century. As Steven Mansbach argues, the importance of the written word was paramount in Central European avant-gardes.[397] However, while "the classical avant-gardes from East-Central Europe produced as many texts as paintings, as many tracts as sculpture, and even more essays and articles than either architecture or decorative objects,"[398] very few of these texts were penned by the women active in these avant-garde circles. It is almost certainly not for lack of ability, or even interest, but most likely for lack of invitation. While women artists' work featured frequently in these applied arts magazines and sales catalogues, often with much praise, the fact that the interpretation and promotion of their work relied primarily upon men's attention to it is of course a problem that has plagued art historiography and art criticism throughout time.

Artěl's work as a whole demonstrated that traditional Czech crafts and modern design were not antithetical. Nor were national and transnational political

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[397] Steven A. Mansbach, "Toward an Art of Redemption for Modern Mankind," in *Years of Disarray, 1908-1928: Avant-gardes in Central Europe*, edited by Karel Srp (Olomouc, Czech Republic: Arbor vitae and Olomouc Museum of Art, 2018): 32-45.

[398] *Ibid*, 33.

interests mutually exclusive within an empire that promoted unity through diversity.[399] The group's approaches to universalizing regional differences in the Czech lands for the nationalist and modernist cause were, however, both Prague-centric enterprises—they reflected a cosmopolitan and specifically Bohemian Czech image that did not show a deep consideration of or appreciation for the cultural differences between Moravians, Slovaks, Rusyns, and rural populations who, taken together, outnumbered Bohemian Czechs in the First Czechoslovak Republic (1918-1938). Yet, the influence of Artěl and other decidedly Czech and urban cultural forces still reached these populations through exhibitions in Moravia's most populated city, Brno, through commissions the group accepted outside of Prague, and through the wider circulation of arts journals and popular magazines. The visual culture that Artěl created across the first three decades of the twentieth century thus played a decisive role in creating the sense of a shared cultural history of the Czechoslovak nation. Further, the group's activities abroad marketed a Czechoslovak identity to the rest of Europe and America at a time when the sovereignty of nations was being decided by powers to the West.

[399] Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2016): 316-321.

Figures

Figure 1

Buildings on Main Square, 16th-18th centuries, Telč, Southern Moravia, Czech Republic, photo: xkomczax, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=35815103.

Figure 2

[image redacted]

Jan Blažej Santini-Aichel, Pilgrimage Church of Saint John Nepomuk, 1719-1727, Žďár nad Sázavou, Bohemian/Moravian border, Czech Republic, photo: https://www.zdarns.cz/.

Figure 3

[image redacted]

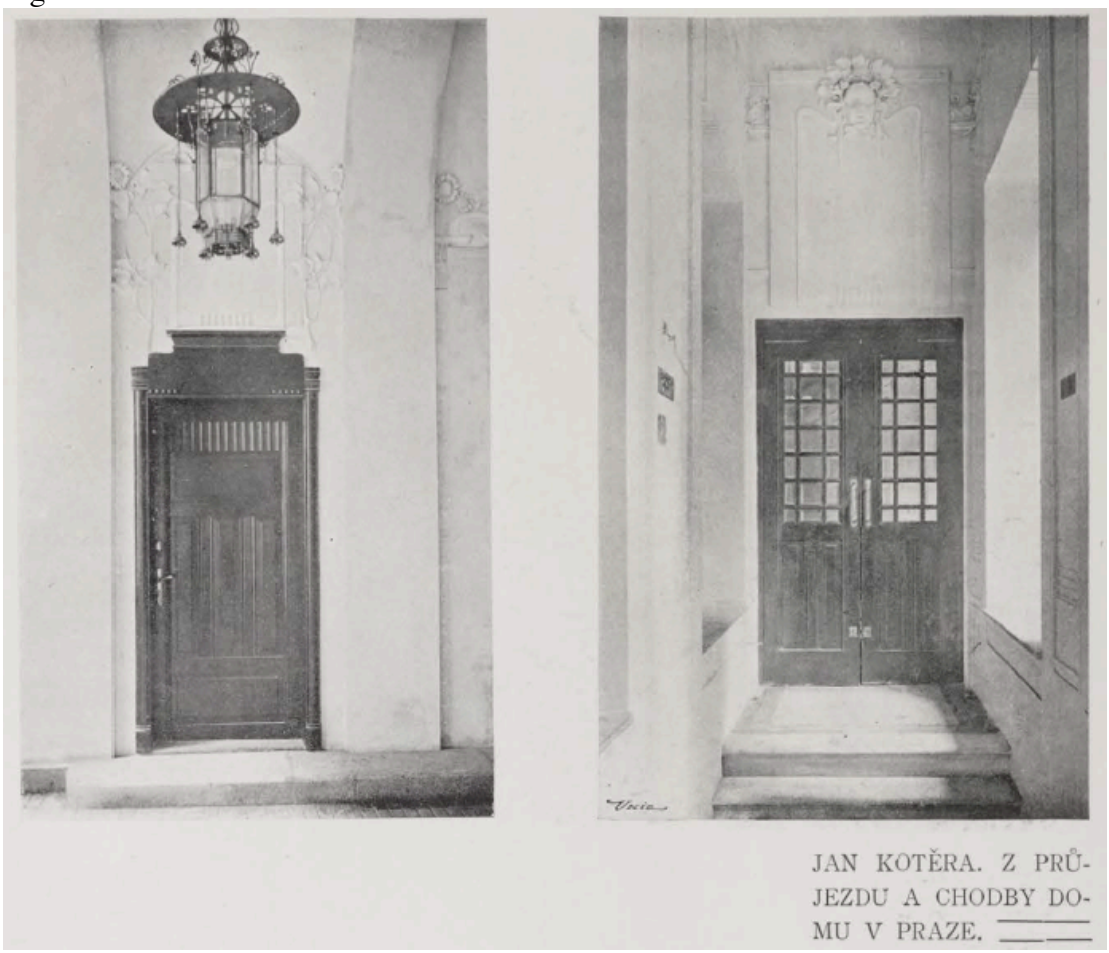
Jan Kotěra, Mánes Pavilion, 1902, Prague, archival photo, published in Stefania Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska, "'Sztuka,' 'Wiener Secession,' 'Mánes:" The Central European Art Triangle," *Artibus et Historiae* 27, no. 53 (2006): 230.

Figure 4

[image redacted]

View of the Rodin Exhibition, held in 1902 in the Mánes Pavilion, archival photo, published in Stefania Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska, "'Sztuka,' 'Wiener Secession,' 'Mánes:" The Central European Art Triangle," *Artibus et Historiae* 27, no. 53 (2006): 236.

Figure 5



Jan Kotěra, From the Passage and Hallway of a House in Prague, published in *Volné směry* IV, no. 6 (1900): 195.

Figure 6

Jan Kotěra, Villa Trmal, Strašnice, Prague, 1902-1903, drawing, published in *Volné směry* VIII (1904): 259.

Figure 7

Jan Kotěra, Villa Trmal, Strašnice, Prague, 1902-1903, photograph, published in *Volné směry* VIII (1904): 258.

Figure 8

Jan Kotěra, Villa Trmal, Strašnice, Prague, 1902-1903, photograph, published in *Volné směry* VIII (1904): 257.

Figure 9

Jan Kotěra, Villa Trmal, Strašnice, Prague, 1902-1903, interior detail, published in *Volné směry* VIII (1904): 258.

Figure 10

[image redacted]

Jan Kotěra, Villa Trmal, Strašnice, Prague, 1902-1903, present-day interior view of staircase and ceiling, photo: www.trmalovavila.eu.

Figure 11

Jan Kotěra, Villa Trmal, Strašnice, Prague, 1902-1903, present-day exterior, photo: ŠJů, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=1601703.

Figure 12

Vojtěch Hynais, Poster for the 1895 Czechoslavic Exposition, 1894, lithograph on paper, in the public domain, New York Public Library Digital Collections, http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47da-392d-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99.

Figure 13

[image redacted]

Josef Rosipal, Beer pitcher and glasses, 1913-1914, clear glass laminated with ruby glass, 20.9cm (pitcher), likely manufactured by Jan Oertel in Bor, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den* (2009): 203.

Figure 14

[image redacted]

Vlastislav Hofman, Vase, 1914, glazed earthenware, 12 1/2 x 7 9/16 x 6 13/16 in. (31.8 x 19.2 x 17.3 cm), manufactured for Artěl by Rydl & Thon in Svijany-Podolí, Bohemia, image provided by the St. Louis Art Museum to ARTstor Digital Library.

Figure 15

[image redacted]

Zdeňka Braunerová, Liquor Service, 1904-1906, painted glass, Moravská galerie, Brno.

Figure 16

[image redacted]

Božena Pošepná, Glass for Artěl, 1924, enameled glass, UPM, Prague, photo: https://www.umprum.cz/web/cs/galerie-um/z-prahy-az-do-buenos-aires-1866.

Figure 17

[image redacted]

Helena Johnová, Little Moor figurines, 1912, painted, glazed earthenware, 12cm, published in Jiří Hořava, *První dama české keramiky: Helena Johnová (1884-1962)* (České Budějovice: Měsíc ve dne, 2017): 365.

Figure 18

Bedřich Münzberger, Průmyslový palác (Palace of Industry), built 1891 for the Jubilee Exhibition in Prague, photo: Tony Hisgett, 2008, CC BY 2.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=27342213.

Figure 19

Czech cottage at the 1891 Jubilee Exhibition. Published in E. Kovár (ed.), 1895, *Národopisná výstava československanská v Praze*, Prague: J. Otto: 12; HathiTrust, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiug.30112074286029.

Figure 20

Two women in Blatský costume. Published in E. Kovár (ed.), 1895, *Národopisná výstava československanská v Praze*, Prague: J. Otto: 57; HathiTrust, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiug.30112074286029.

Figure 21

[image redacted]

Otakar Vondráček, Flyer for Cubist furniture designs with Artěl mission statement, c. 1910, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 183.

Figure 22

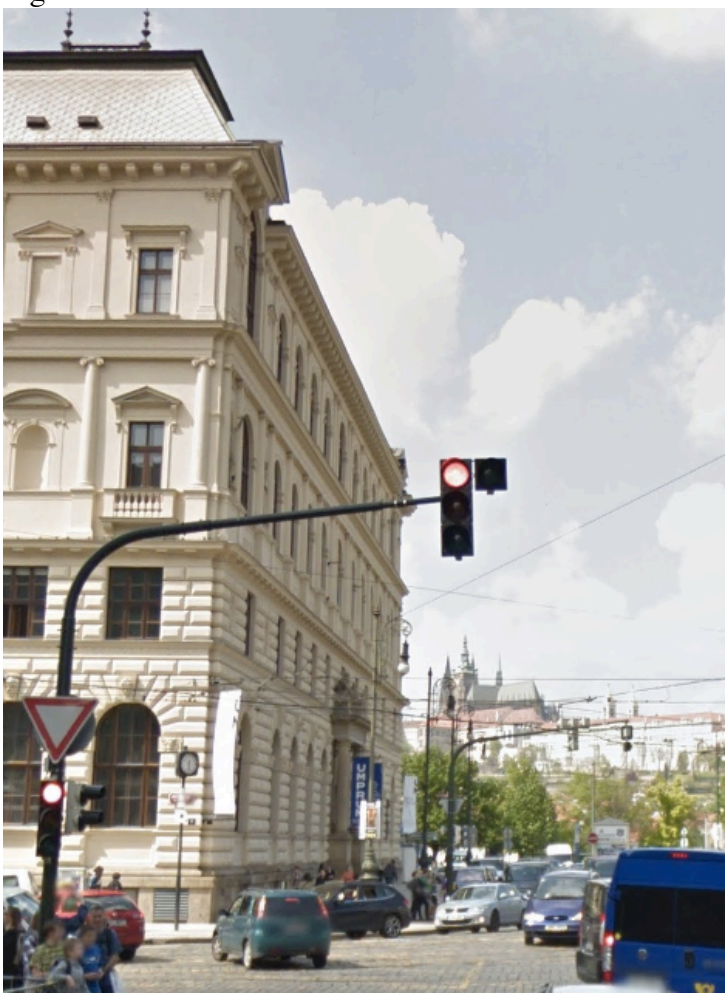
Vratislav Hugo Brunner, Gingerbread Cookies (perníky), 1908, published in *Styl* 1, no. 1 (1908): 156.

Figure 23

[image redacted]

Founding Artěl members in front of 32 Kaprová Studio location, 1908, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 10.

Figure 24



View from Kaprová Street across the river to Prague Castle, Google Maps Streetview, 2016.

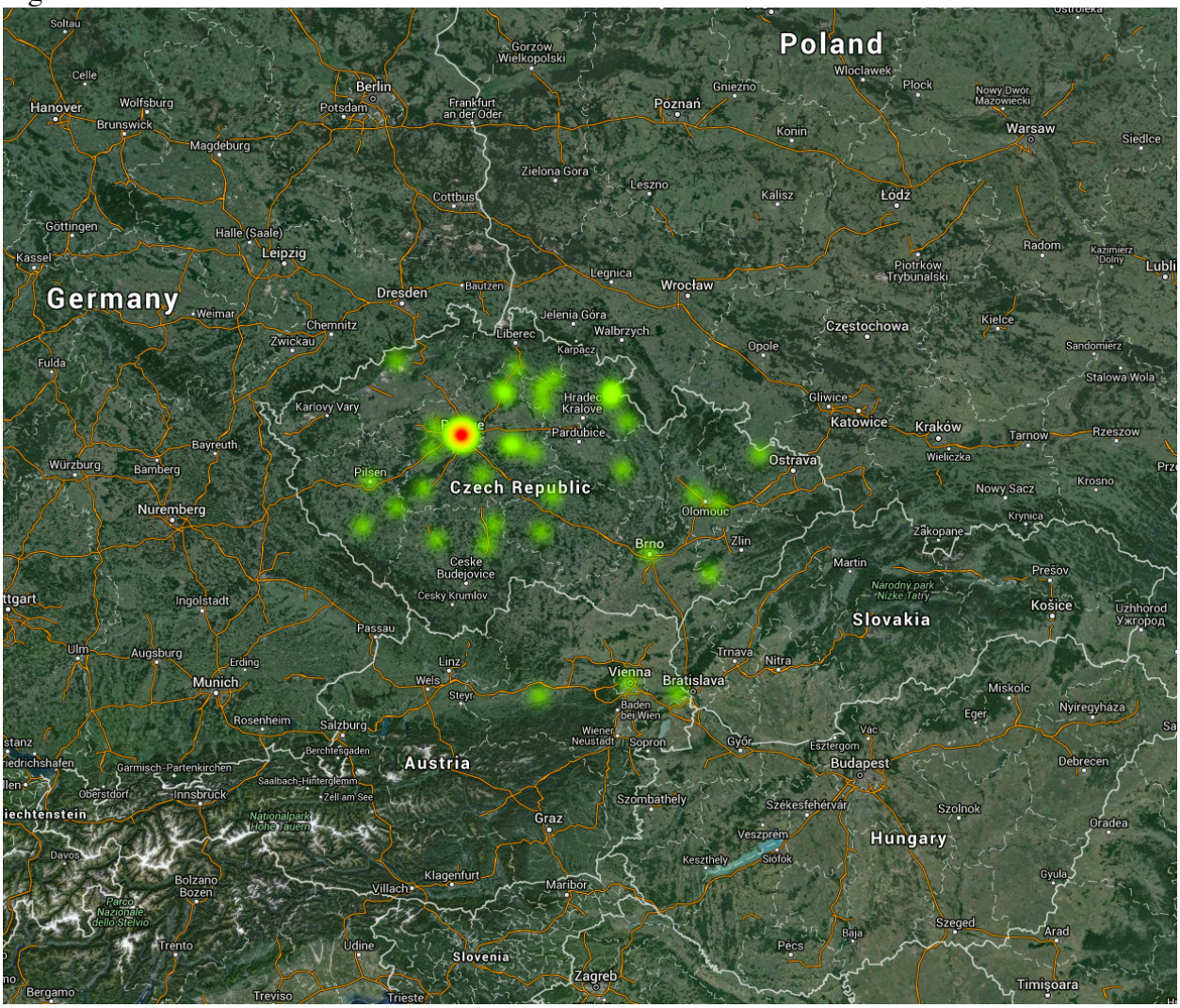
Figure 25

View from 32 Kaprová across the street to Old Town Square, Google Maps Streetview, 2016.

Figure 26

Jože Uprka, Uvodnice z Velké, 1896, Národní galerie v Praze, photo: Velká výstava představuje Jožu Uprku jako umělce evropského formátu, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=16776551.

Figure 27



Heat map showing distribution of birthplaces of Artěl associates, created by the author using Google Fusion Tables.

Figure 28

Pavel Janák, Artěl Kiosk, 1908 Jubilee Exhibition, Prague, flag designed by Marie Teinitzerová, published in *Styl* I (1909): 213.

Figure 29

[image redacted]

Vratislav Hugo Brunner, [Zlatorog/Goldenhorn?] Fawn, 1907, painted wood, 10cm, UPM, Prague, published in Alena Adlerová, ed., *Czech Art Deco 1918-1938* (Prague: Municipal House, 1998): 125.

Figure 30

Pavel Janák, Artěl logo, 1908, letterpress, UPM, Prague.

Figure 31

[image redacted]

Rudolf Stockar and Frantisek Kysela, Interior of a Confectioner's Shop at the Ligna Palace, Prague, 1916, Architecture Archive at the National Technical Museum, Prague, published in Alena Potučková, et al, *Folklorismy v českém výtvarném umění XX. století [Folklorisms in 20th-Century Czech Art]* (Prague: Czech Museum of Fine Arts, 2004): 101.

Figure 32

[image redacted]

Traditional Domestic Building, early 1800s, originally built in Lezník, moved to Open-Air Museum, Veselý Kopec, Bohemia, Czech Republic, photo: https://www.nmvp.cz/vysocina/pro-navstevniky/prohlidka-expozicnich-arealu/usedlost-z-lezniku.

Figure 33

Z ATELIERU ARTĚLU

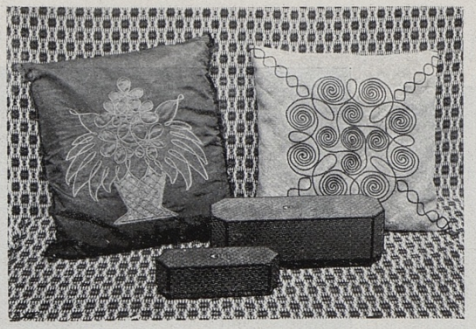
ARTĚL

Zvláštní jméno! Ruština není v Praze příliš běžná a obecenstvo sotva hledá toto slovo ve slovním pokladě slovanského bratra. Ale pro družinu mladých umělců, kteří si to slovo napsali do štítu a na prapor svého cechu, je významné. Nevadí, že dá práci, než se stane populárním, však, až bude pochopeno, vydá již své ovoce. Artěl? — dílna, to již zní jinak, ale kdo může za přísná nařízení a zákony? »Pražské dílny« (právě jako Wiener Werkstätte, Vereinigte Werkstätten in München atd.) bylo původní jméno, ale narazilo bohužel na právní obtíže. Dílny — k tomu přece, mladí lidé, patří výuční list, daně a jiné krásné věci, to nelze jen tak lehko realisovat ve spořádaném státě. Sáhli tedy po »Artělu«: má své výhody, je krátké to slovo, a pak — je to dílna. A tu dílnu mladí podnikatelé zdůrazňovali na každém kroku: poctivá, ruční originální práce na účel, na specielní případ přiměřený návrh, osobní potřebě a libůstce hovící umělecký předmět. Dali se nadšeně do práce, a před rokem právě osobní přátelé dílny roznášeli již první výrobky mezi interessenty. Byl to dobře zdobený a v příležitých formách zhotovený marcipán v pěkných původ-

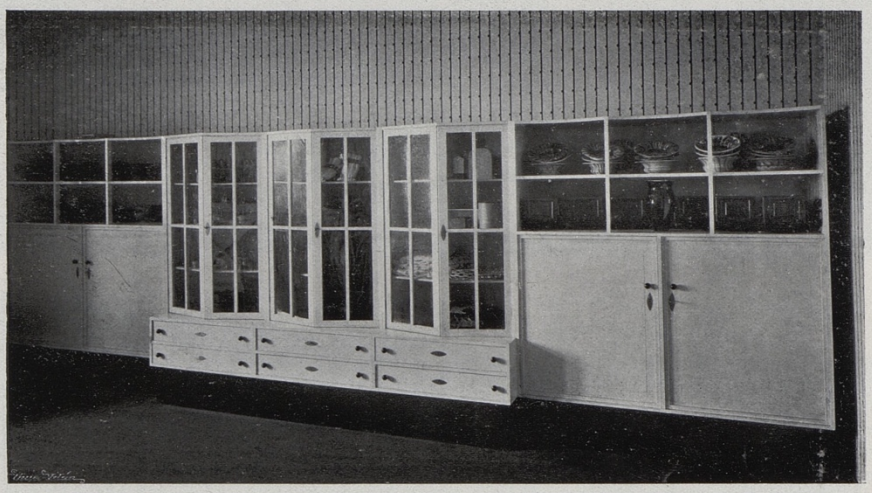
Pavel Janák, Display cases, published in *Český svět* 5, no. 24 (March 26, 1909): 576.

Figure 34

ních krabičkách, bylo to několik hraček dětských. Ale z toho Artěl brzo vyrostl. Chystala se výstava jubilejní a takřka přes noc proveden nápad, postaviti si dole v aleji vlastní pavillon, kde pod vlající standardou s obchodní značkou Artělu prodávaly se drobotiny toiletní, hračky a první samostatné pokusy v zhotování látek a keramických výrobků. Tento výstavní kurs přivedl dílnu aspoň v některých kruzích v oblibu a členové-umělci starají se, aby známost jejich rostla.



jednotlivce, ale za to hledí vlastní práci uměleckou, spočívající v návrzích, rozšířiti na — pokud možno — všechny odbory uměleckého řemesla. Dodává (a již také dodal) celá zařízení bytová, návrhy nábytku, nádobí, lustrů, koberců, vyšívání, ba nabízí se i k projektům celých vill a letních domů. Jak vidíme, z maléhо počátku vyrostl tu vážný podnik, který nemá méně energie než veliká, ohromným kapitálem založená výrobní družstva a také nemá malichernějšího



Z PRODEJNÉ MÍSTNOSTI ARTĚLU

Vystavují ve vitríně na Lažanského paláci proti Národnímu divadlu různé a různé svoje produkty, hračky, kartonáže, battikové látky, tkaniny a výšivky, korálové colliers, applikované práce atd., vydali cenník předsádkových papírů vlastní výroby, provádějí na přímou zakázku celou řadu drobných předmětů a snaží se je šířiti v obecenstvu. K uměleckému fondu přidal se i obchodní smysl: Artěl pomalu získává podnikatele, kteří chtějí financování výroby dle návrhů umělců nésti, pomalu pokoušejí se přenášeti risiko prodeje na zapracovaná již družstva a

cíle. Ani nemusíme podotýkati, že je to podnik ryze moderní, protože zásady, na nichž vznikl, přinesla a vypracovala teprve nedávná doba. Tím je také dán jeho poměr k dosavadní řemeslné a průmyslové výrobě: stojí proti ní všude, kde se nejedná o poctivou, charakterní a formálně dokonalou práci, kde se pracuje šablonovitě a nevkusně; nezamítá ani ve svých prostředcích výrobních stroj, ale nedává se jím otročiti, nýbrž vyhledává ho jenom, kde se hodí. Je jisto, že i nám v Artělu vyrůstá k lepší budoucnosti generace, která je bohudík již v cizině vedoucím živlem.

H. K.

Pavel Janák, Display cases, published in *Český svět* 5, no. 24 (March 26, 1909): 577.

Figure 35

[image redacted]

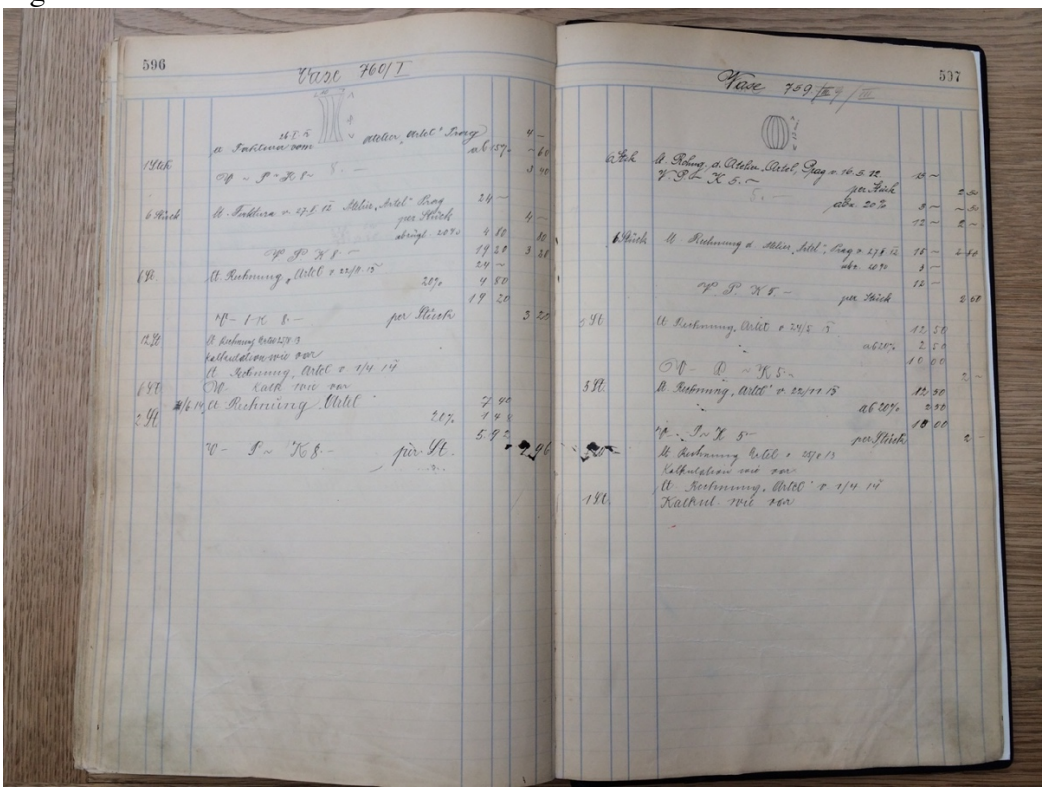
Pavel Janák, Pillows, 1912-1913, published in Jiří Švestka, Tomáš Vlček, and Pavel Liška, eds., *Czech Cubism, 1909-1925: Art, Architecture, Design* (Prague: i3 CZ and Modernista, 2006): 285.

Figure 36

[image redacted]

Marie Teinitzerová, Curtain Fabric, c. 1920, etamine with printed pattern (soft cotton or worsted textile with an open mesh), published in Alena Adlerová, ed., *Czech Art Deco 1918-1938* (Prague: Municipal House, 1998): 60.

Figure 37



Wiener Werkstätte catalogue showing entries for vases by Pavel Janák shown in Figure 38, photo taken at the MAK Wien Archives, 2014.

Figure 38

[image redacted]

Pavel Janák, Vases, 1911, glazed earthenware, black decor, published in Jiří Švestka, Tomáš Vlček, and Pavel Liška, eds., *Czech Cubism, 1909-1925: Art, Architecture, Design* (Prague: i3 CZ and Modernista, 2006): 287.

Figure 39

OLTÁŘÍK PROVEDL J. HOREJC

Z VÁNOČNÍ VÝSTAVY ARTĚLU V PRAZE

PROVEDL J. HOREJC

Tato originelní výstavka těší se stoupající návštěvě obecenstva našeho i německého. Mladí, snaživí umělci vystavují apartní předměty, umělecko-průmyslné, které zajisté vyrovnají se importovaným objektům z ciziny. Zvláště jsou to ale práce J. Horejce, které originalitou svou poutají pozornost naší společnosti. Není naším úmyslem vypisovati zde, co vše „Artěl" připravil „k Ježíšku". Stačí, zaskočíte-li z promenady na tiché nábřeží Františkovo, kde prodejní místnosti této družiny se nalézají. Přesvědčíte se, že nebudete litovati těch několika chvílek a že neodoláte a aspoň kousek z bohatého výběru si odnesete.

PROVEDL J. HOREJC

"Z Vanoční výstavy Artělů v Praze," in *Český svět* 6, no. 13 (December 23, 1909): 299.

Figure 40

Z VÁNOČNÍ VÝSTAVY ARTĚLU NA FRANTIŠKOVĚ NÁBŘEŽÍ

Z vánočního trhu „Artělu" přinášíme dnes ukázky umělecko-průmyslové tvorby české. — Artěl upravil vánoční svůj trh ve skvělých svých místnostech v Bellevue, plně jsa si vědom nejen významu uměleckého, ale i důležitosti problému národohospodářského, který již samotnou svou existencí pomáhá řešit. — Mimo několika ukázek umění jinoslovanského není ani kus zboží původu cizího. — Věnujeme každoročně zvýšenou pozornost uměleckému průmyslu právě v tento čas, kdy milliony našeho národního kapitálu přesunou se v několika dnech z rukou konsumentů na půdu výrobní a jako zlatá vláha, jdoucí až na kořeny podnikavosti hospodářské, budí život a vyvolávají novou úrodu. Mělo by býti vážným úkolem české veřejnosti, aby vláha šla na kořeny domácí a neodtékala za hranice!

"Z Vanoční výstavy Artělů na Františkovo nábřeží," in *Český svět* 8, no. 15 (December 15, 1911): 389.

Figure 41

V. H. BRUNNER PERNÍK.

plynoucích plně vědomi, neboť je dovedli výtvarně vyvinout. „Průhledy" známe nyní úplně věcně; nejsou to jen hry nebo rozmary aranžující fantasie (ku kterým bylo by možno počítat jen nejprimitivnější a vyložené barokní případy), ale jsou to hluboce a vždy znovu myšlená díla a v základu vlastně jen uvolněné pohledy do vyrovnaně, stejnoměrně a charakterně stavěného města. Sestavy a skupiny budov, domy vysoko nad světskou podnož vzrůstající, radnice s pozdními přístavky dovedeme ocenit jako fixované rovnováhy hmot a hluboké symboliky; „Freilegung" není již zlepšujícím prostředkem. Panoramata, jimž patřil dříve jen popisující enthusiasmus, málo rozlišující a více se oddávající, analysujeme a obdivujeme jako shrnující exterieury detailních činností stavících, srovnaných v společné masse města. K uměleckohistorickému oceňování jednotlivých památek připojujeme další: cenu jejich pro město a pro jejich funkci v dané posici. A naopak: cenění slohu a jeho podílu na architektonických objektech redukujeme, protože v tolika případech hodnota díla byla dokázána, že je především krásnou a geniálně vyvedenou *dedukcí ze situace*, při níž element slohový je až i druhořadný.

Tedy staré město — i při svých moderních a odlišných principech nového města — uznáváme jako díla plné logiky a krásných závěrů, vybudované ne náhodností, pro kterou by ho bylo možno podceňovat, ale činnou intelligencí. „Starobylost" neexistuje, ceníme-li výtvarnou hodnotu a pokládáme-li staré město ne za mrtvý, ale za živý, dalšího vývoje schopný organismus. Redukujeme respekt před patinou, které nikde jinde i při umění o tisíciletí starším neodvážili bychom se nepřikládati té váhy, a jdeme za architektonickou myšlénkou, která nestárne, je-li silná a padá jen, byla-li překonána. Chceme tedy pro

A. BREJCHOVA. PERNÍK.

Page from *Styl* 1, no. 1 (1908): 156.

Figure 42

[image redacted]

Granaries of the Blatský Farm with a baroque gable, Komárov, near Tábor, southern Bohemia, pictured in Alená Vondrušková and Vlastimil Vondruška, *Tradice lidové tvorby [Traditional Folk Forms]* (Prague: Artia, 1988): 41.

Figure 43

[image redacted]

Marie Teinitzerová, Blanket, 1908-1910, cotton canvas, printed with wood and potato stamps, manufactured by Teinitzerová's workshops in Jindřichův Hradec, UPM, Prague, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 277.

Figure 44

[image redacted]

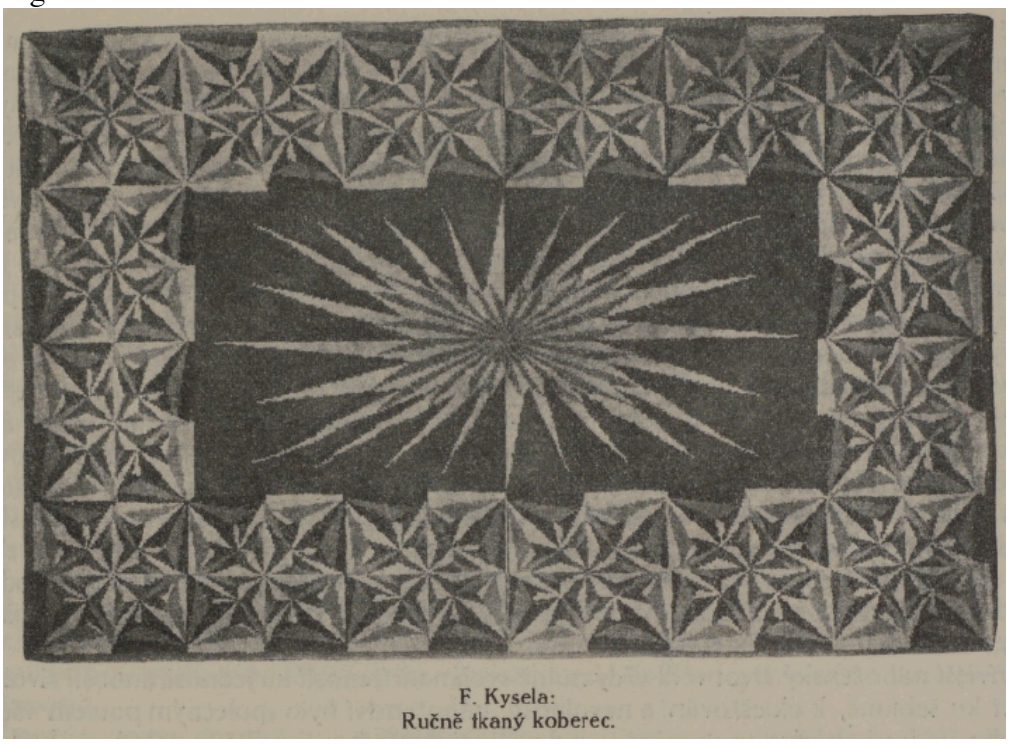
Marie Teinitzerová, Curtain, c. 1910, etamine, produced by a weaver in Strmilov, UPM, Prague, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 269.

Figure 45

[image redacted]

Marie Teinitzerová, Curtain, 1908, etamine, produced by a weaver in Strmilov, UPM, Prague, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 269.

Figure 46



František Kysela, Handwoven rug, published in *Umělecký měsíčník* 2, no. 10 (1913): 278.

Figure 47

[image redacted]

Marie Teinitzerová, Handwoven carpet, c. 1910, Muzeum Jindřichohradecka, Jindřichův Hradec.

Figure 48

[image redacted]

Marie Teinitzerová, Handwoven carpet (detail), c. 1910, Muzeum Jindřichohradecka, Jindřichův Hradec, published in Lada Hubatová-Vacková, *Silent Revolutions in Ornament: Studies in Applied Arts and Crafts from 1880 to 1930* (Prague: Vysoká škola umělecké-průmyslová, 2011): 166.

Figure 49

[image redacted]

Marie Teinitzerová's Textile Workshops, after 1910, photo: Muzeum Jindřichohradecka, Jindřichův Hradec, published in Lada Hubatová-Vacková, *Silent Revolutions in Ornament: Studies in Applied Arts and Crafts from 1880 to 1930* (Prague: Vysoká škola umělecké-průmyslová, 2011): 160.

Figure 50

[image redacted]

Helena Johnová, Potpourri dish, fired clay, colored glazes, 1911, UPM, Prague, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 116.

Figure 51

[image redacted]

Helena Johnová, Beaded necklaces and wraps, 1908-1909, glass, wood, silk ribbon, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 232-233.

Figure 52

[image redacted]

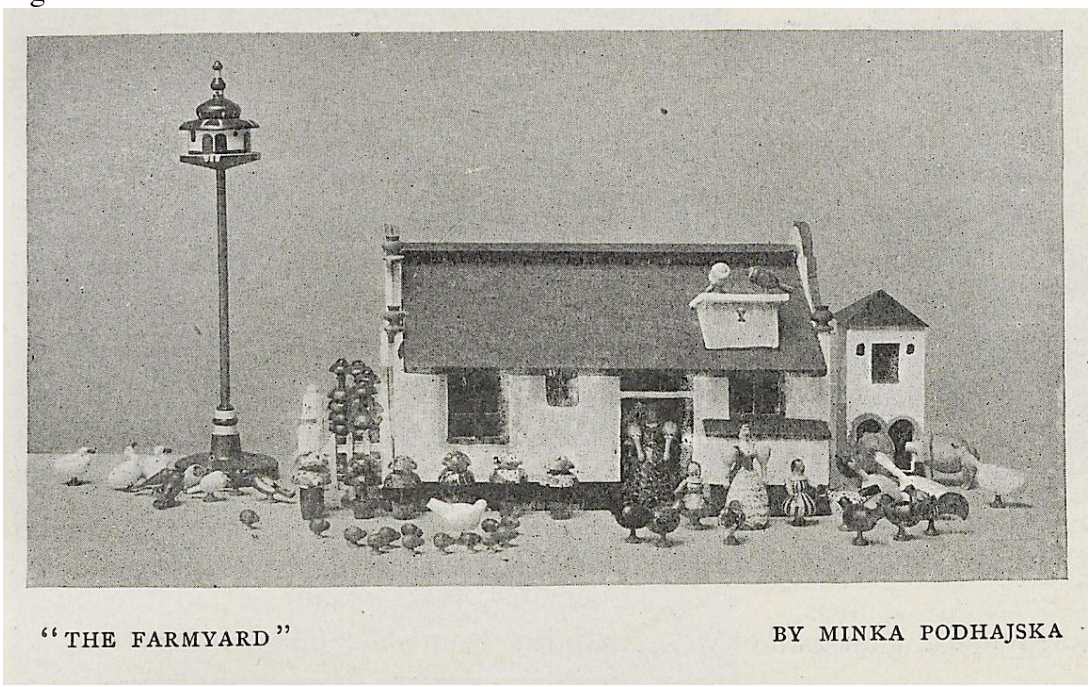
Helena Johnová, Pendant, c. 1910, enamel, metal, UPM, Prague, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 234.

Figure 53

[image redacted]

Josef Hoffmann, Brooch, acquired by Helène Donner (née Klimt), 1907, silver, partly gilt; agate, coral, lapis lazuli, malachite, turquoise, semi-precious stones, 2 in. x 2 in., private collection, photo: Neue Galerie New York.

Figure 54



Minka Podhajská, The Farmyard toy set, 1910, painted wood toy set, published in *The Studio* 48 (1910): 325.

Figure 55

[image redacted]

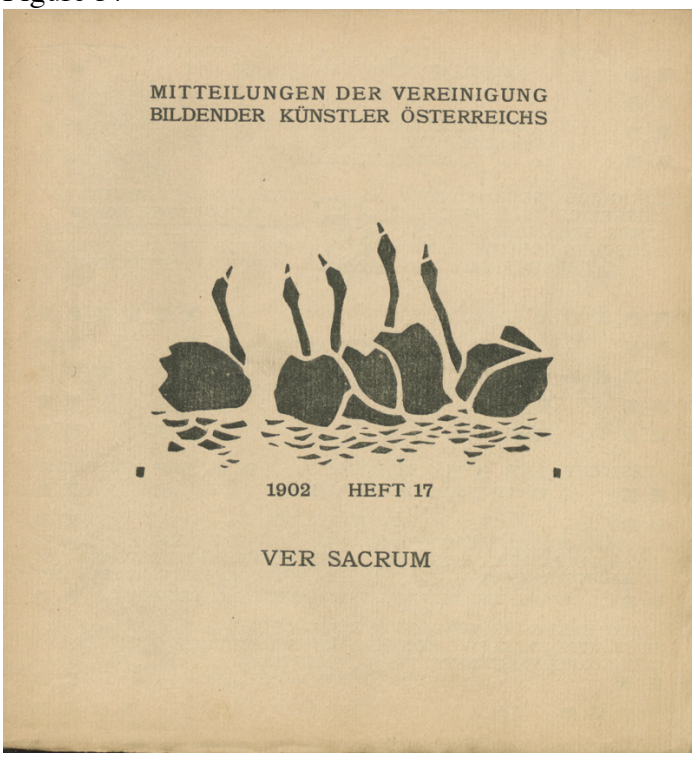
Minka Podhajská, Ripa Chateau, 1906, painted wooden toy, UPM, Prague, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 139.

Figure 56

[image redacted]

Fanny Harlfingerová-Zákucká, Four girls, 1908, painted turned wood toys, Private Collection of Ivan Steiger, Prague, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 139.

Figure 57



Minka Podhajská, Cover of *Ver Sacrum* 1, no. 17 (September, 1902).

Figure 58

Minka Podhajská, Illustration for *Ver Sacrum* 1, no. 17 (September 1902): 260.

Figure 59

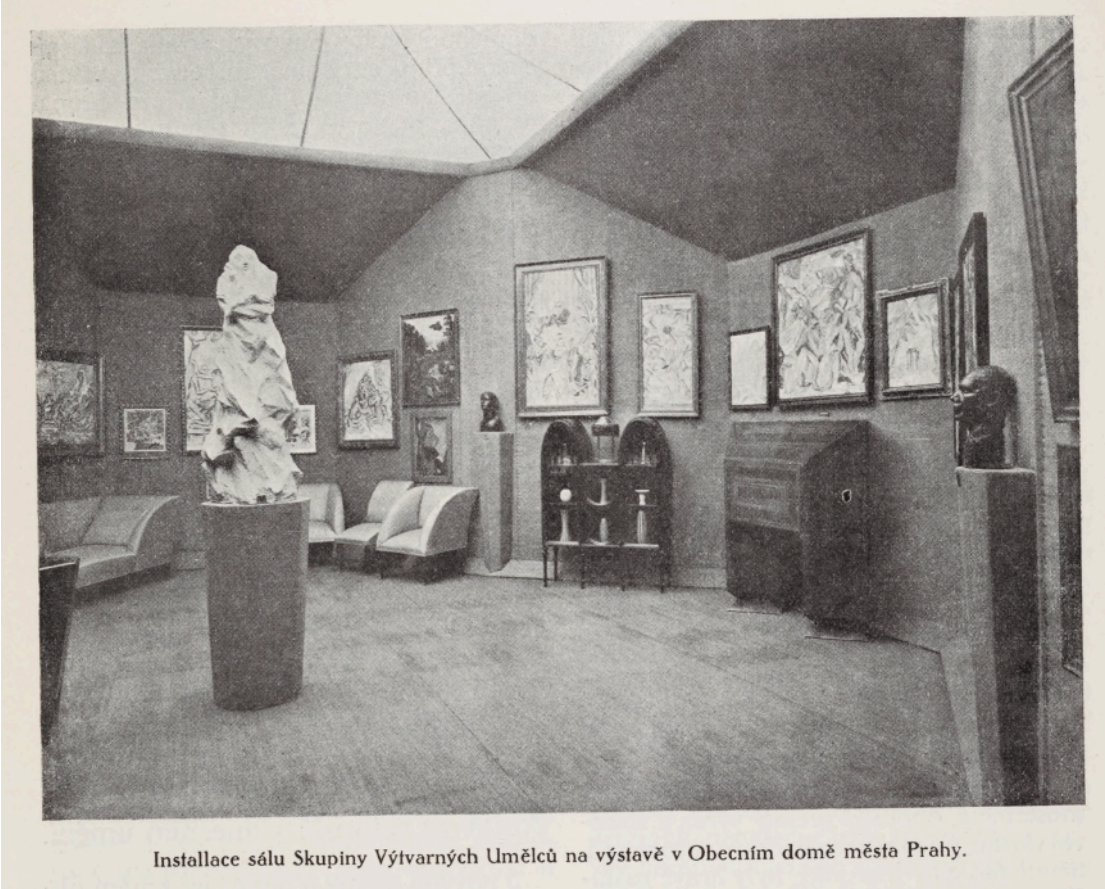
Fanny Zákucká, Illustration for *Ver Sacrum* 1, no. 17 (September 1902): 257.

Figure 60

[image redacted]

Pablo Picasso, *Head of a Woman (Fernande)*, 1909, bronze, Národní galerie v Praze.

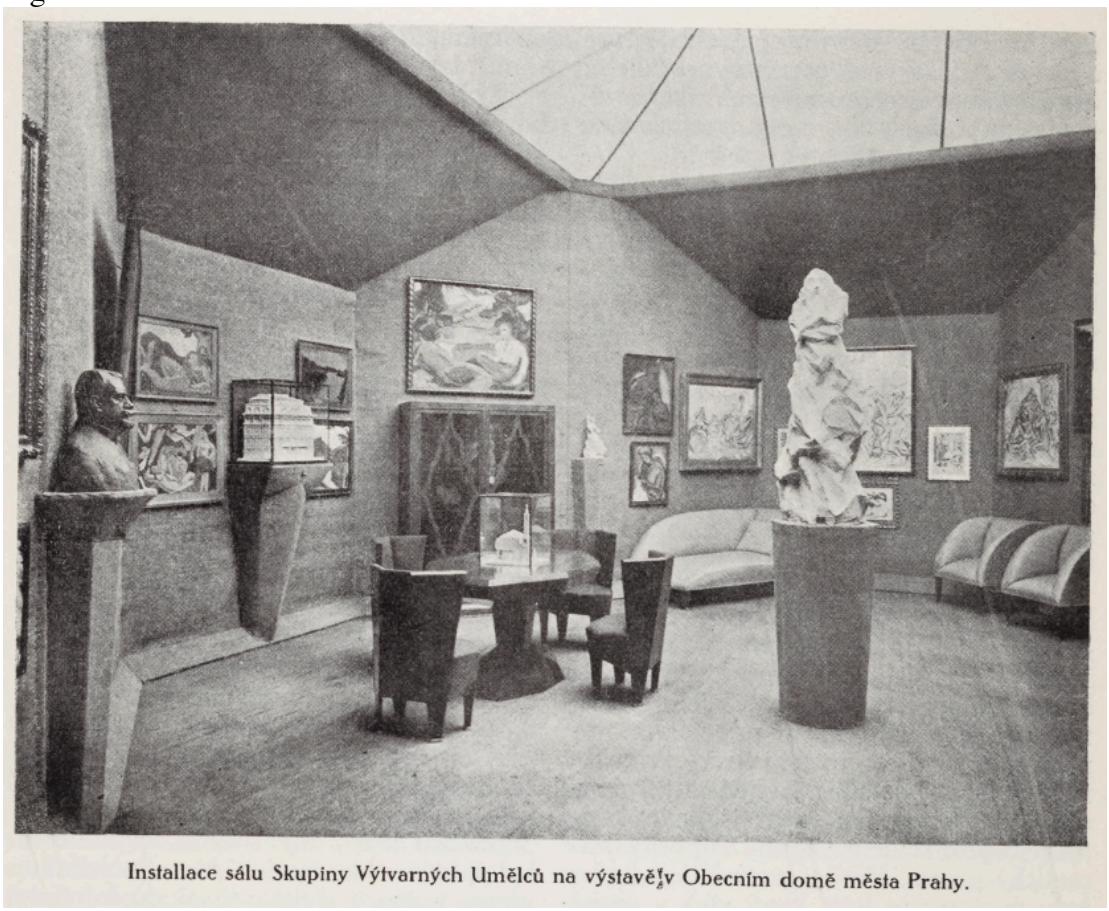
Figure 61



Installace sálu Skupiny Výtvarných Umělců na výstavě v Obecním domě města Prahy.

First Skupina Exhibition, January-March, 1912, Obecní dům, Prague, published in *Umělecký měsíčník* 1, no. 6 (March 1912): 173.

Figure 62



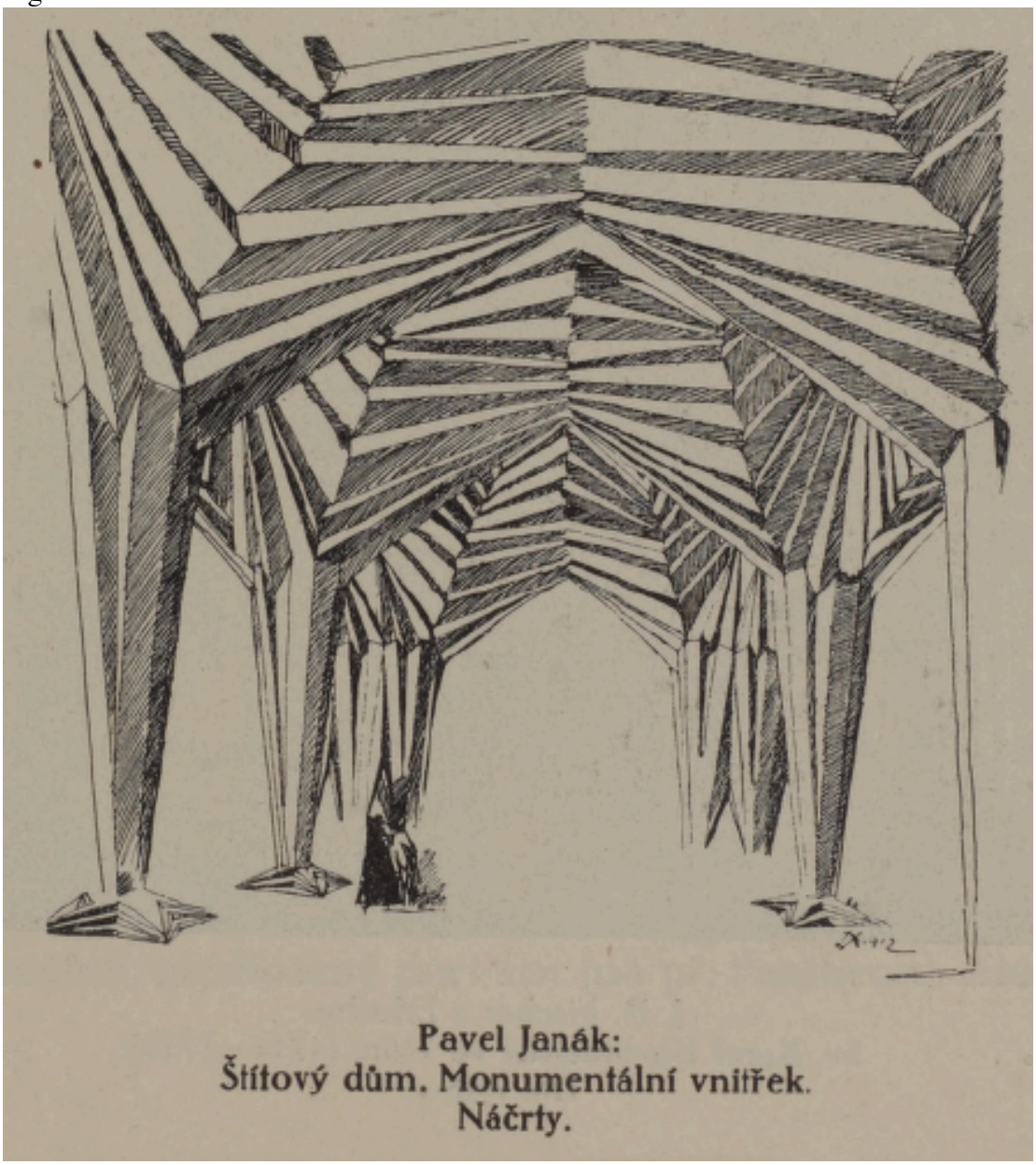
Installace sálu Skupiny Výtvarných Umělců na výstavě v Obecním domě města Prahy.

First Skupina Exhibition, January-March, 1912, Obecní dům, Prague, published in *Umělecký měsíčník* 1, no. 6 (March 1912): 172.

Figure 63

Second Skupina Exhibition, September-October 1912, Obecní dům, Prague, published in *Umělecký měsíčník* 2, no. 1 (November 1912): 24.

Figure 64



Pavel Janák, Design for a Monumental Interior, 1912, pen and ink drawing, published in *Umělecký měsíčník* 2, no. 3 (1913): 94.

Figure 65

Josef Gočár, Dům u Černé Matky Boží [House of the Black Madonna], 1911-1912, published in *Umělecký měsíčník* 2, no. 1 (November 1912): 3.

Figure 66

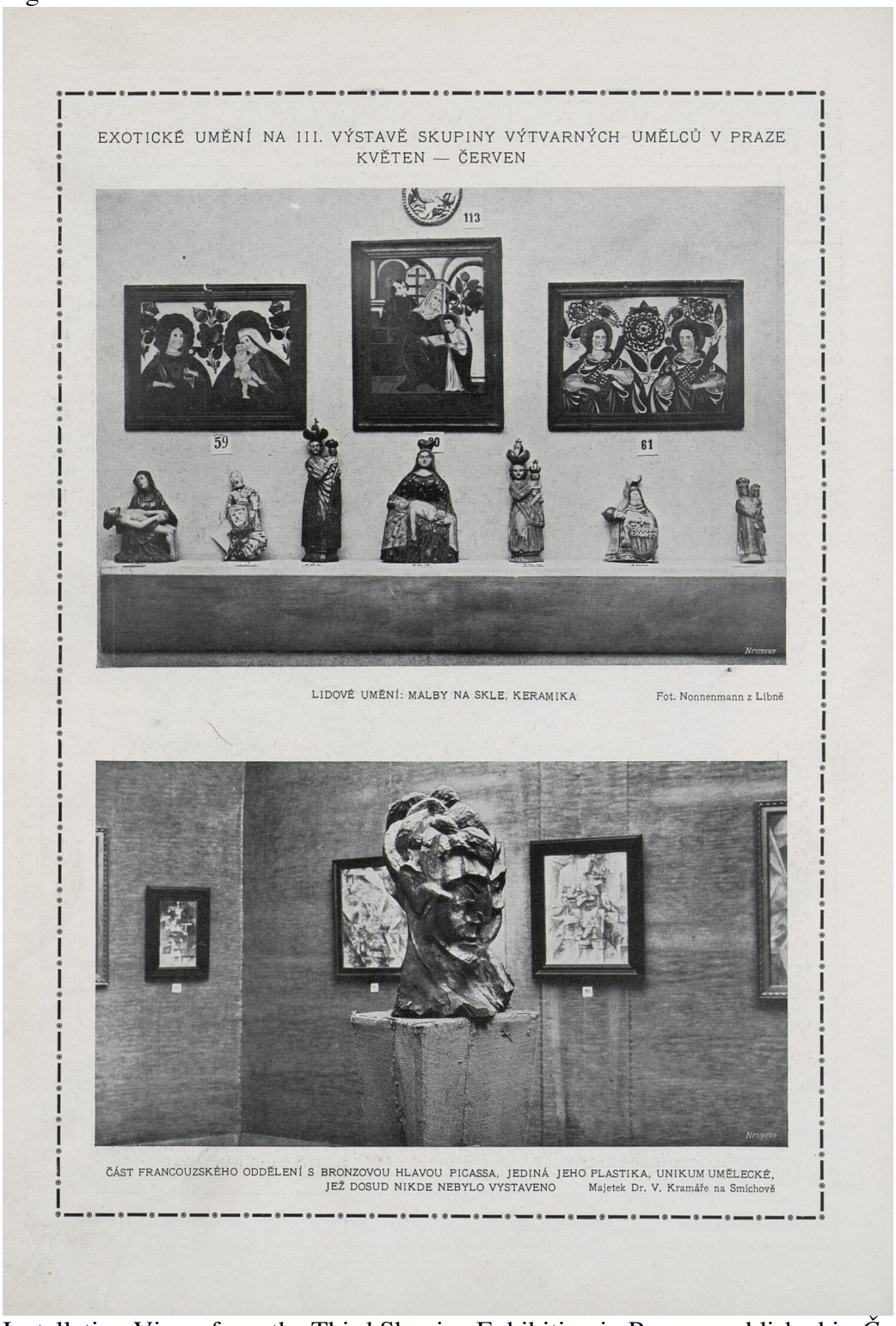
Josef Gočár, Dům u Černé Matky Boží portal, 1911-1912, published in *Umělecký měsíčník* 2, no. 1 (November 1912): 4.

Figure 67

[image redacted]

Third Skupina Exhibition in Prague, May-June 1913, Obecní dům, Prague published in Jiří Švestka, Tomáš Vlček, and Pavel Liška, eds., *Czech Cubism, 1909-1925: Art, Architecture, Design* (Prague: i3 CZ and Modernista, 2006): 83.

Figure 68



Installation Views from the Third Skupina Exhibition in Prague, published in *Český svět* 9, no. 40 (May 1913): 2. The title reads: "Exotic art in the 3rd Exhibition of the Group of Fine Arts in Prague, May-June;" the top image caption reads: "Folk art: glass painting and ceramics."

Figure 69

[image redacted]

František Kysela, Poster for the Third Prague Skupina Exhibition, 1913, color lithograph, published in Alexander Von Vegesack, ed., *Czech Cubism: Architecture, Furniture, and Decorative Arts, 1910-1925* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992): 317.

Figure 70

[image redacted]

František Kysela, Poster for the Second Skupina Exhibition, 1912, published in Alexander Von Vegesack, ed., *Czech Cubism: Architecture, Furniture, and Decorative Arts, 1910-1925* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992): 316.

Figure 71

Benedikt Ried, Vladislav Hall, 1493-1502, Prague Castle, author's photograph, 2017.

Figure 72

[image redacted]

Benedikt Ried, Vault of the Nave in the Church of St. Barbara, after 1512, Kutná Hora, Bohemia, published in Rostislav Švácha and Tat'ana Petrasová, eds., *Art in the Czech Lands, 800-2000* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2017): 295.

Figure 73

[image redacted]

Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, c. 1500, Bechyně, Bohemia, published in Rostislav Švácha and Tat'ana Petrasová, eds., *Art in the Czech Lands, 800-2000* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2017): 308.

Figure 74

[image redacted]

Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Soběslav, Bohemia, 1499-1501, detail of diamond vaulting, published in Alexander von Vegesack, ed., *Czech Cubism: Architecture, Furniture, Decorative Arts* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992): 99.

Figure 75

[image redacted]

Vlastislav Hofman, Lidded Box, c. 1920, brass, UPM, Prague, photo: http://www.czkubismus.cz/en/czech-cubism-and-its-representatives.

Figure 76

[image redacted]

Josef Chochol, Apartment Building, 1913-1914, Vyšehrad, Prague, published in Jiří Švestka, Tomáš Vlček, and Pavel Liška, eds., *Czech Cubism, 1909-1925: Art, Architecture, Design* (Prague: i3 CZ and Modernista, 2006): 91.

Figure 77

[image redacted]

Jan Blažej Santini-Aichel, Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Wolfgang, and St. Benedict, 1711-1726, Kladruby, Bohemia, published in Rostislav Švácha and Tat'ana Petrasová, eds., *Art in the Czech Lands, 800-2000* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2017): 490.

Figure 78

[image redacted]

Pavel Janák, Reconstruction of the Baroque façade of the Fára House, 1913, Pelhřimov, Czech Republic, published in Jiří Švestka, Tomáš Vlček, and Pavel Liška, eds., *Czech Cubism, 1909-1925: Art, Architecture, Design* (Prague: i3 CZ and Modernista, 2006): 217.

Figure 79

Otto Gutfreund, *Anxiety*, 1911-1912, bronze, Národní galerie v Praze, public domain.

Figure 80

Bohumil Kubišta, *St. Sebastian*, 1912, oil on canvas, Národní galerie v Praze, public domain.

Figure 81

[image redacted]

Antonín Procházka, *Concert*, 1912, oil on canvas, Gallery of Fine Arts, Ostrava, Czech Republic.

Figure 82

[image redacted]

Pavel Janák, Zig-Zag Coffee Service, 1911, earthenware, black decoration, UPM, Prague, published in Jiří Švestka, Tomáš Vlček, and Pavel Liška, eds., *Czech Cubism, 1909-1925: Art, Architecture, Design* (Prague: i3 CZ and Modernista, 2006): 320.

Figure 83

[image redacted]

Josef Rosipal, Liqueur Service, 1913, clear glass laminated with blue glass, 33cm (carafe), manufactured by Arnošt Pryl Glassworks, UPM, Prague, photo: http://www.czkubismus.cz/en/czech-cubism-and-its-representatives.

Figure 84

[image redacted]

Vlastislav Hofman, Vase, before 1914, glazed ceramic, 30x16 cm, manufactured by Rydl & Thon, Collection of MAK Wien.

Figure 85

Josef Gočár, Furniture Suite for Otto Boleška, 1913, as installed in the Museum of Czech Cubism in the House of the Black Madonna; including wallpaper design by František Kysela (1915), and Skupina exhibition poster by Kysela (1912), author's photo.

Figure 86

Pavel Janák, Furniture Suite for Josef Borovička, 1911-1912, published in *Umělecký měsíčník* 2, no. 3 (1913): 96.

Figure 87

[image redacted]

Vlastislav Hofman, Dining furniture suite designed for sculptor Josef Mařatka, published in Jiří Švestka, Tomáš Vlček, and Pavel Liška, eds., *Czech Cubism, 1909-1925: Art, Architecture, Design* (Prague: i3 CZ and Modernista, 2006): 280.

Figure 88

Artěl and the PUD Gallery at the Werkbund Exhibition, 1914, published in *Umělecký měsíčník* 3, no 2 (1914): 72.

Figure 89

[image redacted]

Otakar Novotný, Exhibition Space of the Svaz československého díla at the Werkbund Exhibition, 1914, Cologne, Germany, published in Jiří Švestka, Tomáš Vlček, and Pavel Liška, eds., *Czech Cubism, 1909-1925: Art, Architecture, Design* (Prague: i3 CZ and Modernista, 2006): 295.

Figure 90

[image redacted]

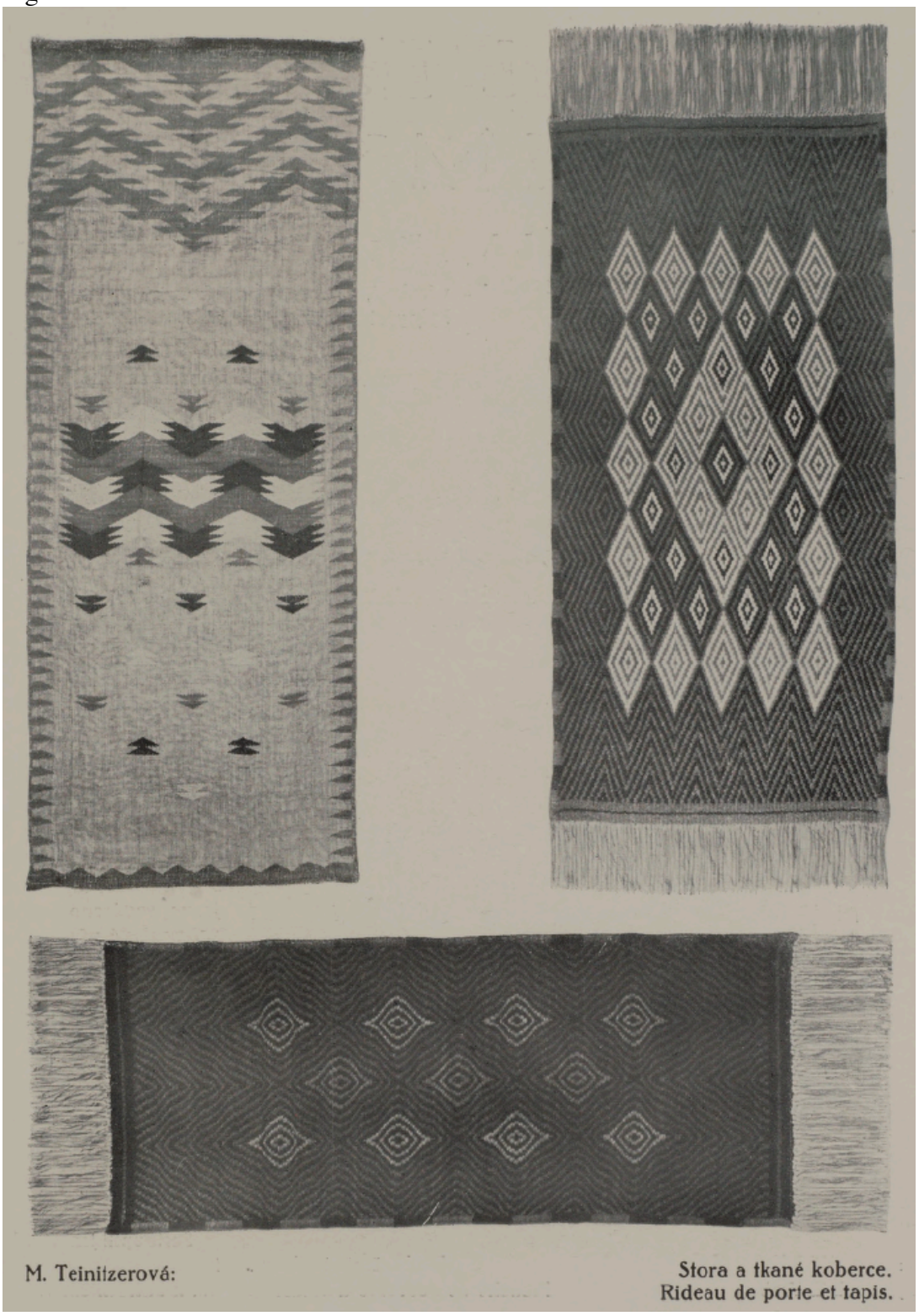
Josef Hoffmann and Eduard Josef Wimmer-Wisgrill, Wiener Werkstätte Showroom at the Werkbund Exhibition, Cologne, Germany, 1914, published in Christian Brandstätter, *Wiener Werkstätte Design in Vienna 1903-1932* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2003): 89.

Figure 91

[image redacted]

Josef Hoffmann, Wiener Werkstätte Reception Room at the Werkbund Exhibition, Cologne, Germany, 1914, published in Christian Brandstätter, *Wiener Werkstätte Design in Vienna 1903-1932* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2003): 90.

Figure 92



Marie Teinitzerová, Woven carpets, published in *Umělecký měsíčník* 3, no. 1 (1913): 36.

Figure 93

Abb. 52. Haus der Frau: Zimmer von Frau Moldenhauer, Offenbach.

Annemarie Moldenhauer, Dining room suite, Haus der Frau, German Werkbund Exhibition, Cologne, Germany, 1914, published in Wilhelm Schäfer, "Die Deutsche Werkbund-Ausstellung in Köln," in *Die Rheinlande: Monatsschrift für deutsche Kunst und Dichtung* 8/9 (1914): 297.

Figure 94

Helena Johnová, Candlestick, fired clay, c. 1911, exhibited at the 1911 Christmas Exhibition at the UPM, Prague, published in *Umělecký měsíčník* 2, no. 2 (December 1911): 68.

Figure 95

[image redacted]

Emilie Flöge wearing dress designed by Gustav Klimt, c. 1903, published in Jane Kallir, *Viennese Design and the Wiener Werkstätte* (New York: Galerie St. Etienne, 1986): 89.

Figure 96

[image redacted]

Koloman Moser, Wiener Werkstätte dress made from Bergfalter fabric, c. 1910, published in Christian Brandstätter, *Wiener Werkstätte Design in Vienna 1903-1932* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2003): 339.

Figure 97

[image redacted]

Josef Mánes, Woman from Jihlava, Bohemia, c. 1840s, drawing from a set of undated postcards published by Hencl's printing house in Prague, published in Jaroslav Malina, ed., *Panoráma biologické a sociokulturní antropologie* (Brno: Masaryková Univerzita, 2005): 37.

Figure 98

[image redacted]

Marie Teinitzerová, clothing and interior textile exhibition, UPM, Prague, 1916, photo: from the collection of the Muzeum Jindřichohradecka, Jindřichův Hradec, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 286.

Figure 99

František Kysela, Bank note for 50 Czech korunas, 1922, , published in Vendula Hnídková, "Rondocubism versus National Style," *RIHA Journal* 0011 (November 2010): http://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2010/hnidkova-rondocubism-versus-national-style. Originally published as "Rondokubismus versus národní styl," in *Umění* 57, no. 1 (2010): 74–84.

Figure 100

František Kysela, Coat of Arms of Czechoslovakia, 1920, image: Shazz, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=871219.

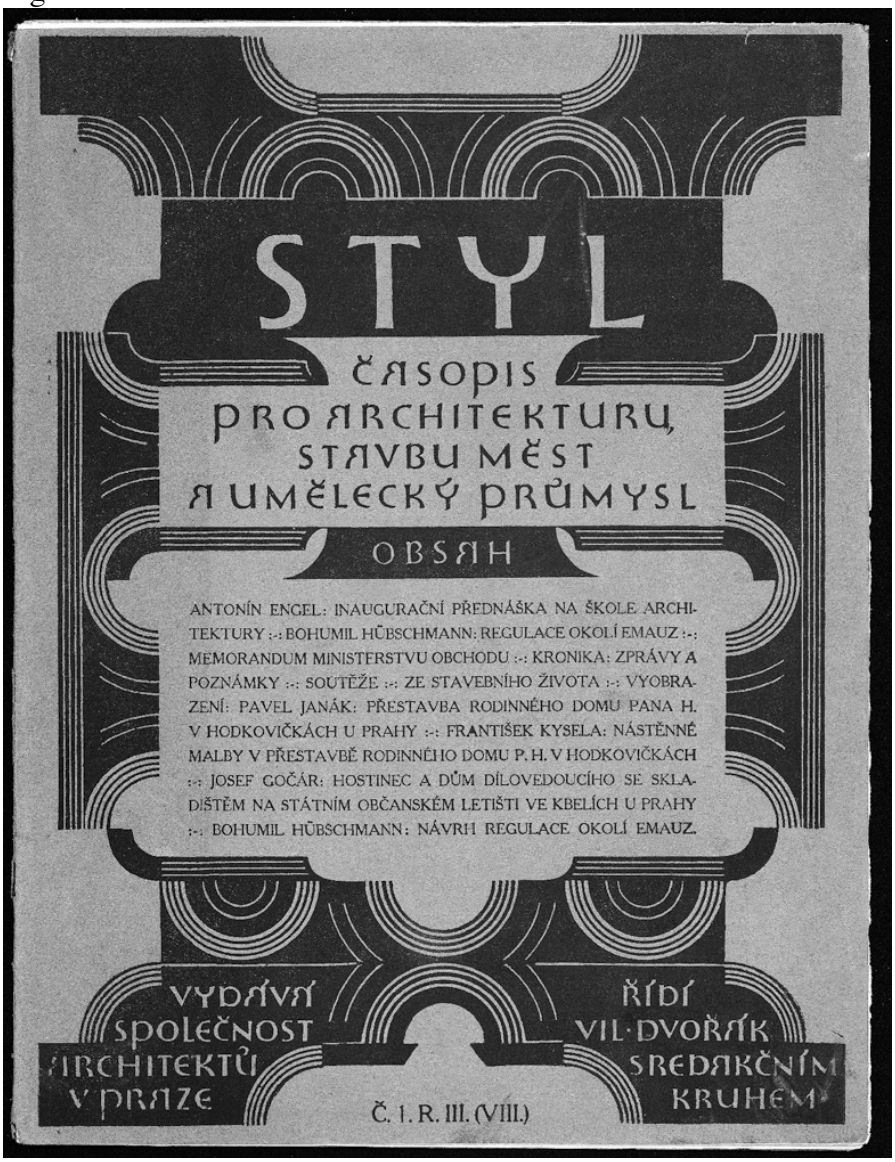
Figure 101

Jaroslav Benda, Typeface for Mánes poster, cut by Benda in 1919 and produced by Grafia Printer in Prague in 1920, published in *Yearbook of Czechoslovak Letterpresses* 5 (1922): unpaginated.

Figure 102

Jaroslav Benda, Bank note for five Czech korunas, 1921, Tiskárna Česká grafická unie, circulation: September 25, 1922 – December 31, 1926, published in Vendula Hnídková, "Rondocubism versus National Style," *RIHA Journal* 0011 (November 2010): http://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2010/hnidkova-rondocubism-versus-national-style. Originally published as "Rondokubismus versus národní styl," in *Umění* 57, no. 1 (2010): 74–84.

Figure 103



Jaroslav Benda, Cover of *Styl* 3, no. 1 (1922-1923).

Figure 104

Pavel Janák, Adria Palace, 1922-25, Jungmannova ul. 31, Prague, photo: VitVit, CC License (CC BY-SA 4.0), https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=67977082.

Figure 105

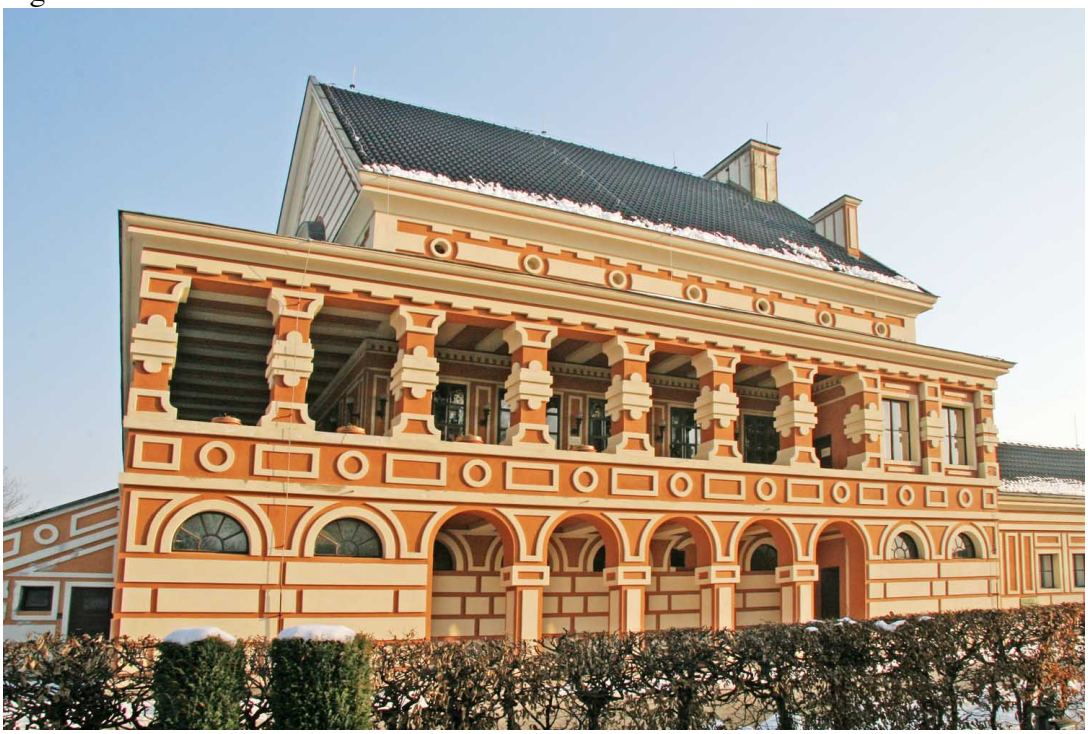
Pavel Janák, Adria Palace (detail), 1922-25, Jungmannova ul. 31, Prague, photo: Colin Rose, CC BY 2.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=2999206.

Figure106

[image redacted]

Pavel Janák, Crematorium, 1921-1923, Pardubice, Czech Republic, photo: Petr Šmídek, 2010, www.archiweb.cz.

Figure 107



Pavel Janák, Crematorium, 1921-1923, Pardubice, Czech Republic, photo: Zp, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=814093.

Figure 108

Josef Gočár, Legiobanka, 1921-1923, Prague, photo: Petr Vilgus, 2006, Creative Commons License (CC BY 2.5), https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=1069630.

Figure 109

Josef Gočár, Legiobanka (interior), 1921-1923, Prague, photo: VitVit, 2019, Creative Commons License (CC BY-SA 4.0), https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=79975566.

Figure 110

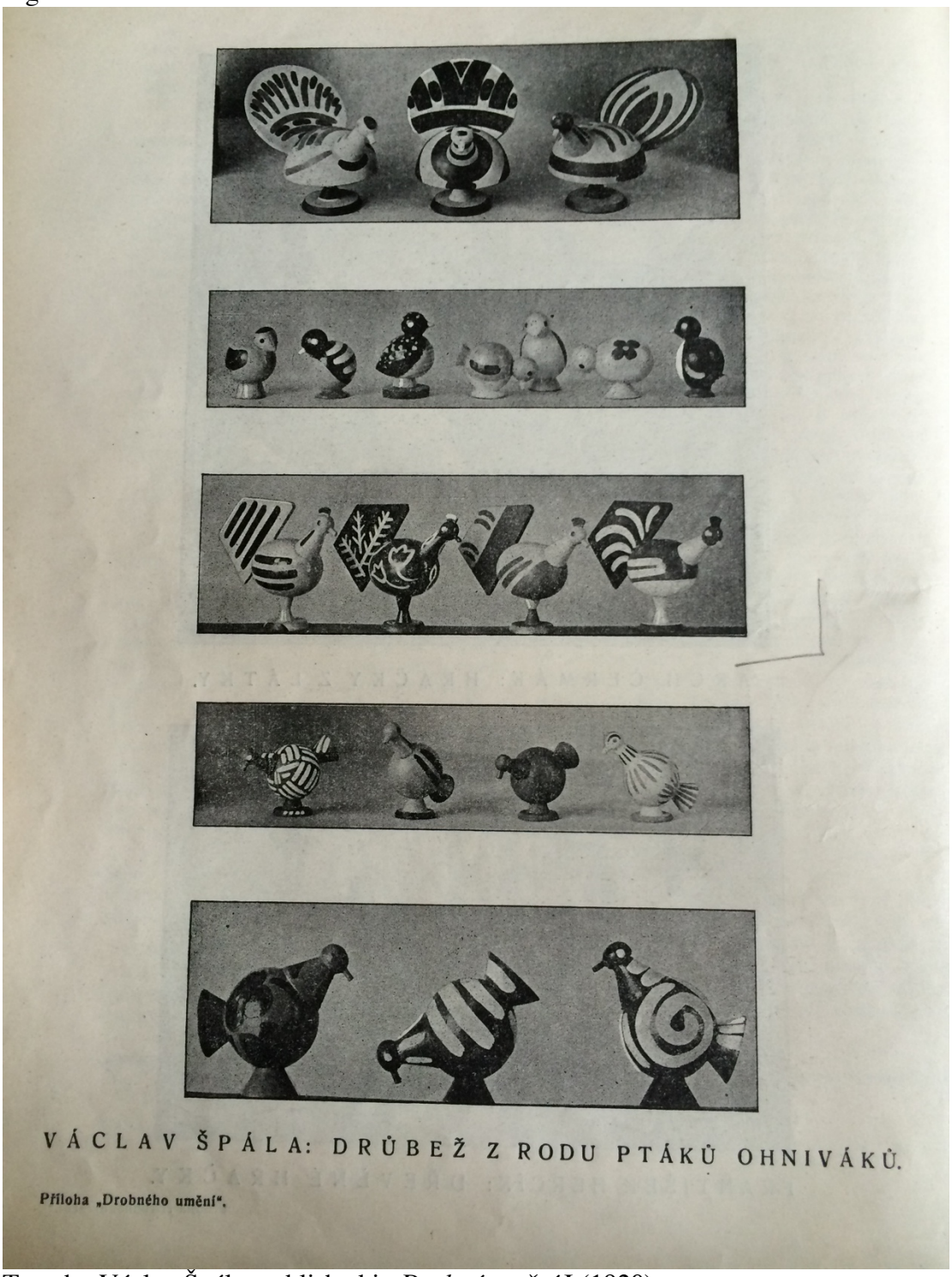
[image redacted]

Vlastislav Hofman, Prague Souvenir Box with Lid, c. 1916-1921, soft stoneware, manufactured by Graniton, Rydl & Thon, photo: https://www.czechdesign.cz/temata-a-rubriky/artel.

Figure 111

Various artists, Prague souvenirs designed for Artěl, c. 1920, published in *Drobné umění* II (1921).

Figure 112



Toys by Václav Špála, published in *Drobné umění* I (1920).

Figure 113

[image redacted]

Václav Špála, Bird from the Fairytale Poultry set, 1920, turned wood, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 151.

Figure 114

[image redacted]

Minka Podhajská, "Šohaj," 1920s, sawn wood, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 160.

Figure 115

Ladislav Sutnar, Rytíř [Knight], c. 1924, turned wood, UPM, Prague, photo: https://upm.cz/ladislav-sutnar-hracky-a-loutky/.

Figure 116

[image redacted]

Ladislav Sutnar, Miniature Furniture, 1923, cut wood, UPM, Prague, photo: https://upm.cz/ladislav-sutnar-hracky-a-loutky/.

Figure 117

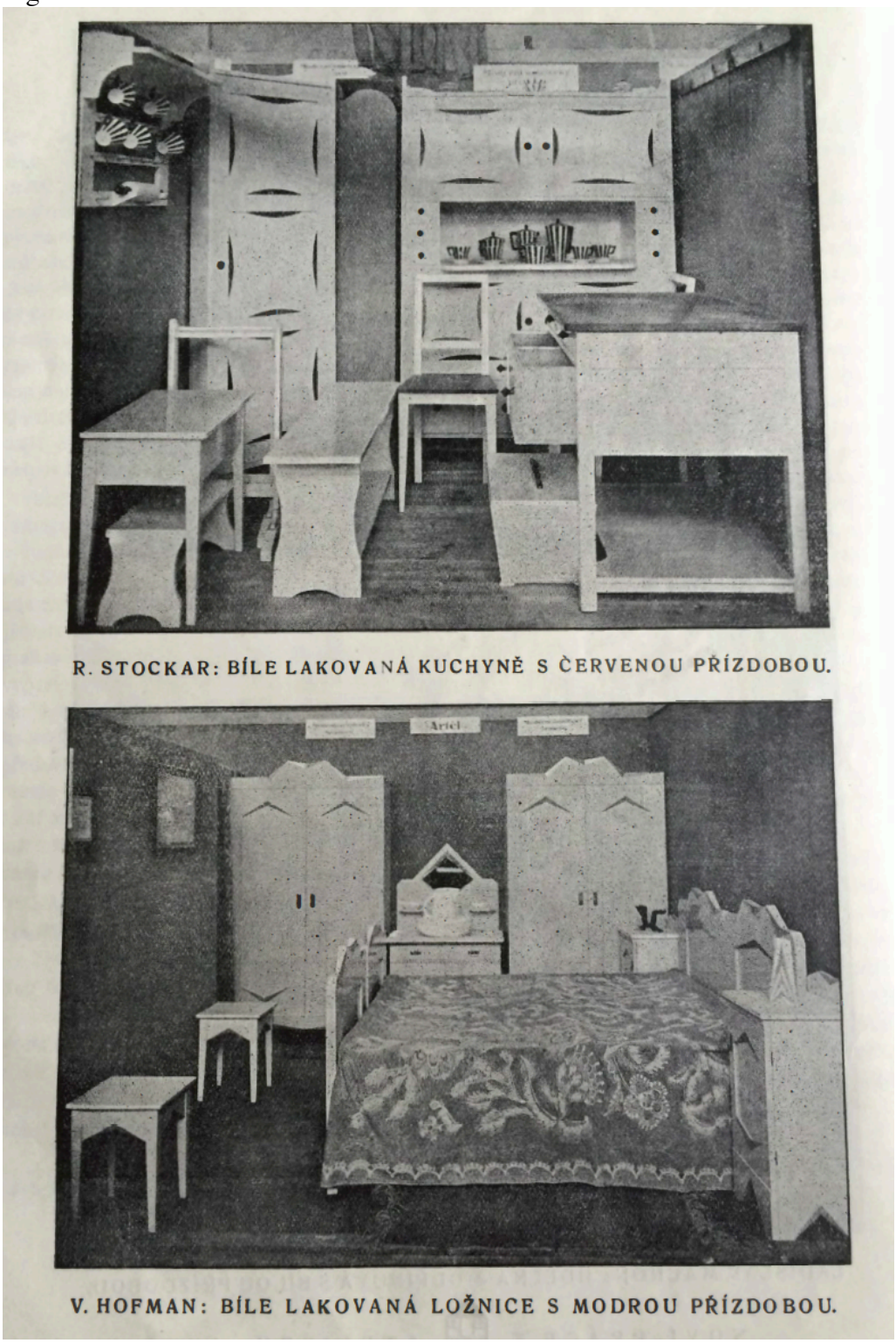
[image redacted]

Ladislav Sutnar, Building the Town, 1930s, cut wood, UPM, Prague, https://upm.cz/ladislav-sutnar-hracky-a-loutky/.

Figure 118

Ladislav Machoň, Blue Dining Room with White Accents (below), 1921, Second Prague Sample Fair, Published in *Drobné umění* II, no. 3 (March 1921).

Figure 119



R. STOCKAR: BÍLE LAKOVANÁ KUCHYNĚ S ČERVENOU PŘÍZDOBOU.

V. HOFMAN: BÍLE LAKOVANÁ LOŽNICE S MODROU PŘÍZDOBOU.

Rudolf Stockar, White Lacquered Kitchen Set with Red Accents (above), and Vlastislav Hofman, White Lacquered Bedroom Suite with Blue Accents (below), 1921, Second Prague Sample Fair, published in *Drobné umění* II, no. 3 (March 1921).

Figure 120

Postcard of the Grand Hotel Hviezdoslav's Coffeehouse, date unknown (building: 1923), Štrbské pleso, Slovakia, photo: public domain, www.historichotelsworldwide.com.

Figure 121

Grand Hotel Hviezdoslav, date unknown (building: 1923), Štrbské pleso, Slovakia, photo: public domain, www.historichotelsworldwide.com.

Figure 122

[image redacted]

Artist unknown, Chair for the Hviezdoslav Hotel, Štrbské Pleso, Slovakia, 1922-1923, spruce and oak, UPM, Prague, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 185.

Figure 123

[image redacted]

Artist unknown, Wardrobe for the Hviezdoslav Hotel, Štrbské Pleso, Slovakia, 1922-1923, spruce and oak, veneer in cherry, mahogany, and walnut, Private Collection, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 185.

Figure 124

[image redacted]

Vlastislav Hofman, Drawings for Czechoslovak Tourist Club Cottages, 1922, pen and crayon on paper, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 184.

Figure 125

[image redacted]

Josef Gočár, Czechoslovak Pavilion, Lyon, France, 1919-1920, published in Alexander Von Vegesack, ed., *Czech Cubism: Architecture, Furniture, and Decorative Arts, 1910-1925* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992): 141.

Figure 126

[image redacted]

Josef Gočár, Czechoslovak Pavilion, Lyon, France, 1919-1920, published in Alexander Von Vegesack, ed., *Czech Cubism: Architecture, Furniture, and Decorative Arts, 1910-1925* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992): 141.

Figure 127

[image redacted]

Josef Gočár, Interior of the Czechoslovak Pavilion, Lyon, France, 1919-1920, published in Alexander Von Vegesack, ed., *Czech Cubism: Architecture, Furniture, and Decorative Arts, 1910-1925* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992): 141.

Figure 128

[image redacted]

Pavel Janák, Czechoslovak Pavilion, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1922, NTM Archives of Architecture, published in Alena Adlerová, ed., *Czech Art Deco 1918-1938* (Prague: Municipal House, 1998): 247.

Figure 129

Pavel Janák, Czechoslovak Interior exhibited at the Monza, 1923. Photo: Consorzio Milano-Monza-Umanitaria, *Catalogo della prima mostra internazionale delle arti decorative* (kat. výst.), Villa Reale, Monza květen–říjen 1923.

Figure 130

[image redacted]

Pavel Janák, Hořovský Villa, Hodkovičky, Prague, 1921-1922, published in Jiří Švestka, Tomáš Vlček, and Pavel Liška, eds., *Czech Cubism, 1909-1925: Art, Architecture, Design* (Prague: i3 CZ and Modernista, 2006): 376.

Figure 131

[image redacted]

Pavel Janák, Interior of Hořovský Villa, Hodkovičky, Prague, 1921-1922, photo: Jan Malý, 1998, published in Alena Potučková, et al, *Folklorismy v českém výtvarném umění XX. století [Folklorisms in 20th-Century Czech Art]* (Prague: Czech Museum of Fine Arts, 2004): 106.

Figure 132

Postcard of Artěl exhibit, Monza, 1923. Photo: Archivio storico, Centro documentazione presso La Triennale di Milano, signatura BNN_I_01_praga001.

Figure 133

Postcard of Artěl exhibit, Monza, 1923. Photo: Archivio storico, Centro documentazione presso La Triennale di Milano, signatura BNN_I_01_praga002.

Figure 134

Konstantin Melnikov, Soviet Pavilion, Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs, Paris, 1925, Unknown photographer, postcard, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=37989976.

Figure 135

Le Corbusier, L'Esprit Nouveau, Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs, Paris, 1925, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=78325406.

Figure 136

[image redacted]

Josef Gočár, Czechoslovak Pavilion, Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs, Paris, 1925, with sculpture by Jan Štursa, photo: https://www.pavilon-expo2015.cz/cs/historie/expo-1925-pariz.

Figure 137

[image redacted]

Karel Teige, *Departure for Cythera*, 1923, Galerie hlavního mesta Prahy, https://library-artstor-org.peach.conncoll.edu/asset/ARTSTOR_103_41822003812920.

Figure 138

[image redacted]

Pavel Janák and Josef Gočár, Main Exhibition Hall in the Czechoslovak Pavilion, Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs, Paris, 1925, photo: Henri Manuel, http://viviane-esders.com/produit/exposition-internationale-des-arts-decoratifs-1925/.

Figure 139

[image redacted]

Pavel Janák, Main Salon, Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs, Paris, 1925; *The Crafts* tapestries by František Kysela and Marie Teinitzerová, and glass by Jaroslav Horejc, published in Alena Adlerová, ed., *Czech Art Deco 1918-1938* (Prague: Municipal House, 1998): 29.

Figure 140

[image redacted]

František Kysela (design) and Marie Teinitzerová (execution), House Painting, The Crafts series, 1924-1925, wool tapestry, UPM, Prague, published in Alena Adlerová, ed., *Czech Art Deco 1918-1938* (Prague: Municipal House, 1998): 49.

Figure 141

[image redacted]

František Kysela (design) and Marie Teinitzerová (execution), Printing, The Crafts series, 1924-1925, wool tapestry, UPM, Prague, published in Alena Adlerová, ed., *Czech Art Deco 1918-1938* (Prague: Municipal House, 1998): 48.

Figure 142

[image redacted]

Emilie Paličková-Mildeová, *Sluničkа [Sun]*, 1925, handsewn lace, 110cm, photo: UPM.

Figure 143

[image redacted]

Marie Sedláčková-Serbousková, Table covering, before 1924, lace, Moravská galerie, Brno.

Figure 144

[image redacted]

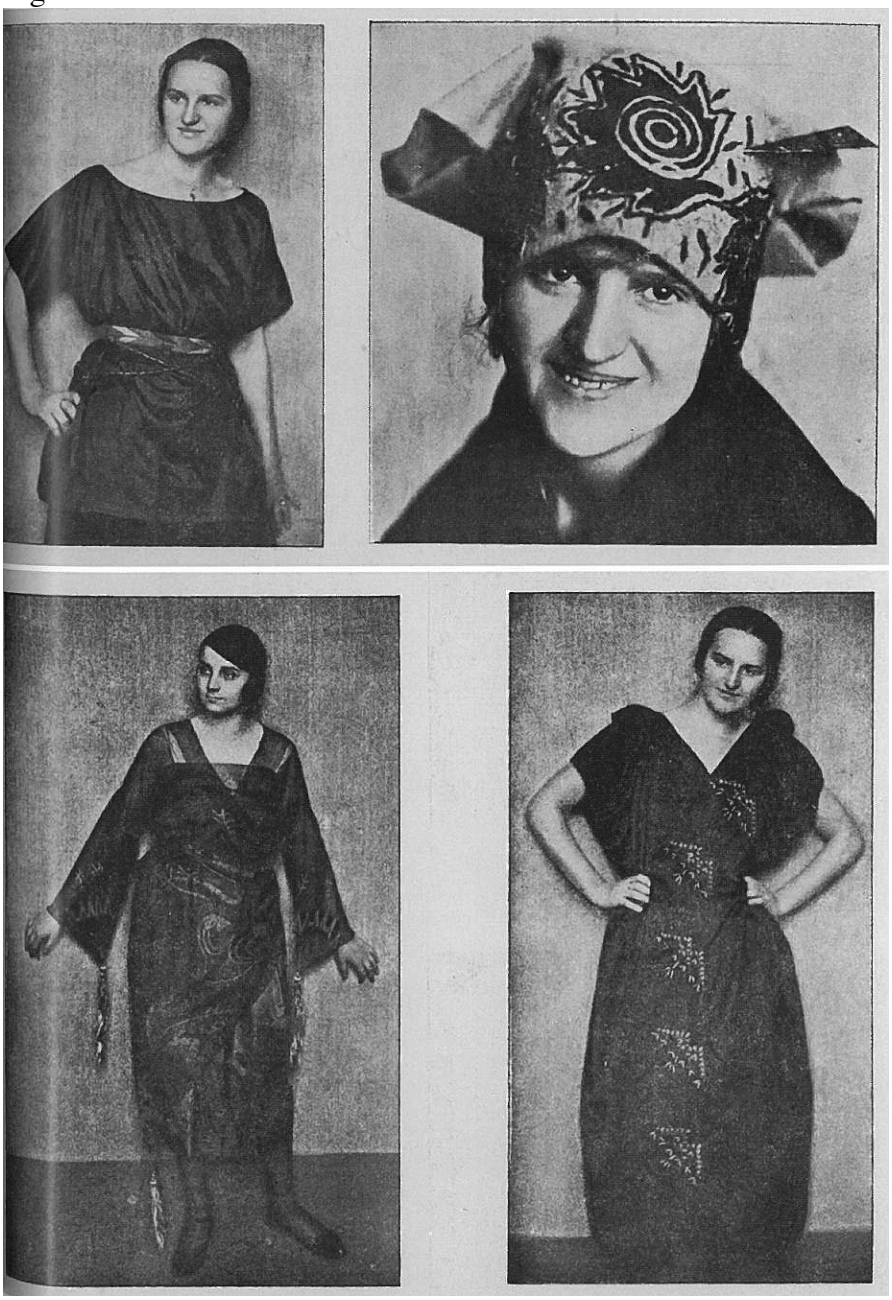
Josef Čejka, Poster Advertisement for Raja Lanolin Cream, 1920, printed by František Tocl, Prague, UPM, Prague, published in Alena Adlerová, ed., *Czech Art Deco 1918-1938* (Prague: Municipal House, 1998): 214.

Figure 145

[image redacted]

Václav Špála, Poster for the *Umění v módě [Art in Fashion]* exhibition, 1921, lithograph, UPM, Prague, published in Eva Uchalová, ed., *Prague Fashion Houses, 1900-1948* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2011): 61.

Figure 146



Ludmila Melková-Ondrušová, Top: Blouse, hat; Bottom: (collaboration with Helena Michalcová) silk dress with batik cover and silk dress embroidered with colored wool, exhibited in the *Umění v módě [Art in Fashion]* exhibition, 1921, UPM, Prague, published in *Drobné umění* II, no. 9 (1921).

Figure 147

[image redacted]

Marie Teinitzerová, Fringed pillow, c 1915, unbleached linen, dyed linen, gold thread, handmade kilim weaving, produced by Teinitzerová's workshop in Jindřichův Hradec, UPM, Prague, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den, 1908-1935* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 280.

Figure 148

[image redacted]

Helena Johnová, *Sitting Peasant from Mladoboleslavsko* (three variations), 1918, white porous shard, painted colors, glazed, 16-17cm, published in Jiří Hořava *První dama české keramiky: Helena Johnová (1884-1962)* (České Budějovice: Měsíc ve dne, 2017): 188.

Figure 149

[image redacted]

Valerie Myslivečková-Hachlová, Belt clasp, 1920s, silver, violet and clear stones, published in Alena Adlerová, ed., *Czech Art Deco 1918-1938* (Prague: Municipal House, 1998): 164.

Figure 150

[image redacted]

Ladislav Machoň, Artěl Storefront at Na Příkopě 20, Prague, 1926, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 32.

Figure 151

Krásná jizba showroom, Prasná brána [Powder Gate], Prague, published in *Pestrý týden [Colorful Week]* 4, no. 43 (October 26, 1929).

Figure152

Krásná jizba showroom, Prasná brána [Powder Gate], Prague, published in *Pestrý týden [Colorful Week]* 4, no. 43 (October 26, 1929).

Figure153

[image redacted]

Oldřich Starý, Dům uměleckého průmyslu [House of Arts Industry], Národní trida 38, Prague, 1936, photo: https://www.designcabinet.cz/dum-umeleckeho-prumyslu-v-praze-v-historickych-souvislostech-ii.

Figure 154

Jaroslava Vondráčková, c. 1915, published in Jaroslava Vondráčková, *Kolem Mileny Jesenské* (Prague: Torst, Centrum Franze Kafky, 1991), public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=7559262.

Figure 155

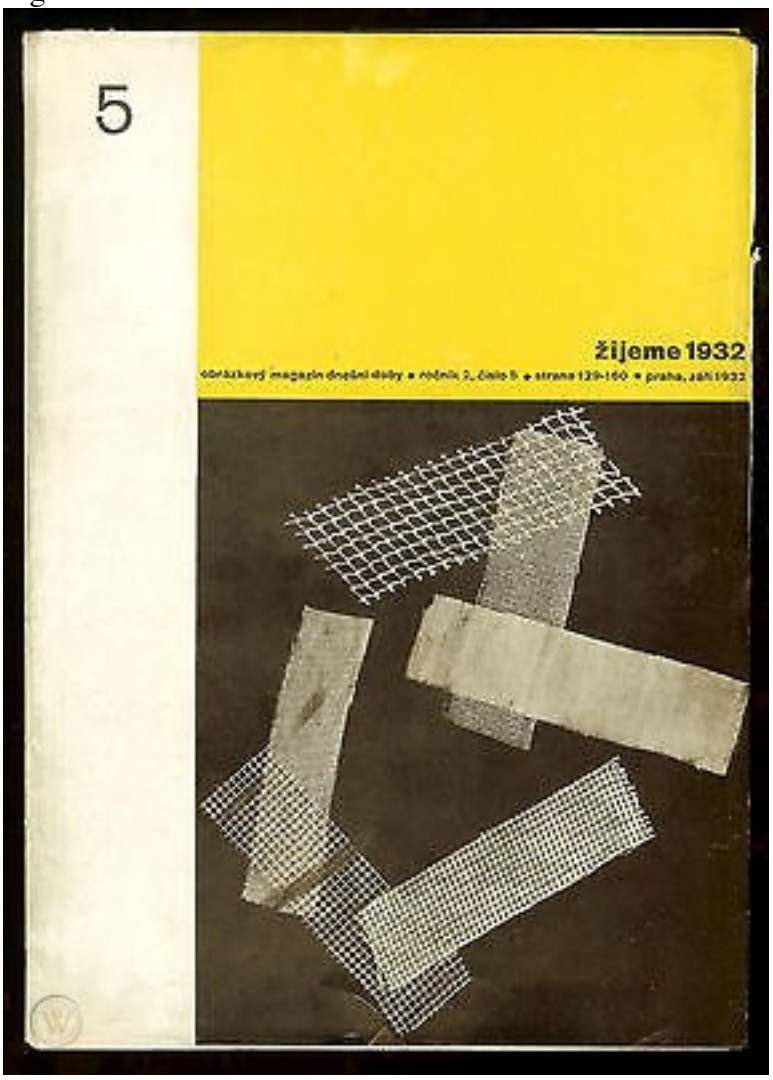
[image redacted]

Jaroslava Vondráčková, Curtain fragment, 1928-1934, etamine, produced by weavers in the Krkonos Mountains, published in Jiří Fronek, ed., *Artěl: Umění pro všední den* (Prague: Arbor vitae, 2008): 282.

Figure 156

Jaroslava Vondráčková, Curtains, published in *Výtvarné snahy* X, no. 7 (1928): 135.

Figure 157



Jaroslava Vondráčková, Fabric Constructions, 1932, published on the cover of *Žijeme* 2, no. 5 (1932).

Figure 158

[image redacted]

Zdeněk Rossmann, *Civilisovaná žena: Jak se má kultivovaná žena oblékati [Civilized Woman: How a Cultured Woman Should Dress]*, exhibition catalogue cover (Brno: Jan Vaněk, 1929).

Figure 159

[image redacted]

Helena Johnová, *Portrait of Miss Burianová*, c. 1930, white or yellow-brown porous shard, colored glazing, 35cm, Moravská galerie, Brno.

Figure 160

[image redacted]

Helena Johnová, Coffee Service, 1928, stoneware, produced by Ceramic Cooperative in Bechyně, Lucie Vlčková and Alice Hekrdlová, eds., *Krásná jizba a dp, 1927-1948: Design pro demokracii* (Prague: Kant, 2018): 209.

Figure 161

Ladislav Sutnar, Dinnerware featured on cover of *Měsíc: illustrovaná společenská revue* 2, no. 3 (March 1933).

Figure 162

Otto Gutfreund, *Self-Portrait*, 1919, colored fired clay, Národní galerie v Praze, public domain.

Figure 163

[image redacted]

Marie Sedláčková-Serbousková, Placemat, 1933-1934, lace, Moravská galerie, Brno.

Figure 164

[image redacted]

Emilie Paličková-Mildeová, *Life of Women*, 1926, lace, photo: http://www.vytvarneumelkyne.cz/dilo.aspx?did=353.

Figure 165

[image redacted]

Ludvíka Smrčková, Wine Glass and Beer Glass, 1928, published in Lucie Vlčková and Alice Hekrdlová, eds., *Krásná jizba a dp, 1927-1948: Design pro demokracii* (Prague: Kant, 2018): 168.

Figure 166

[image redacted]

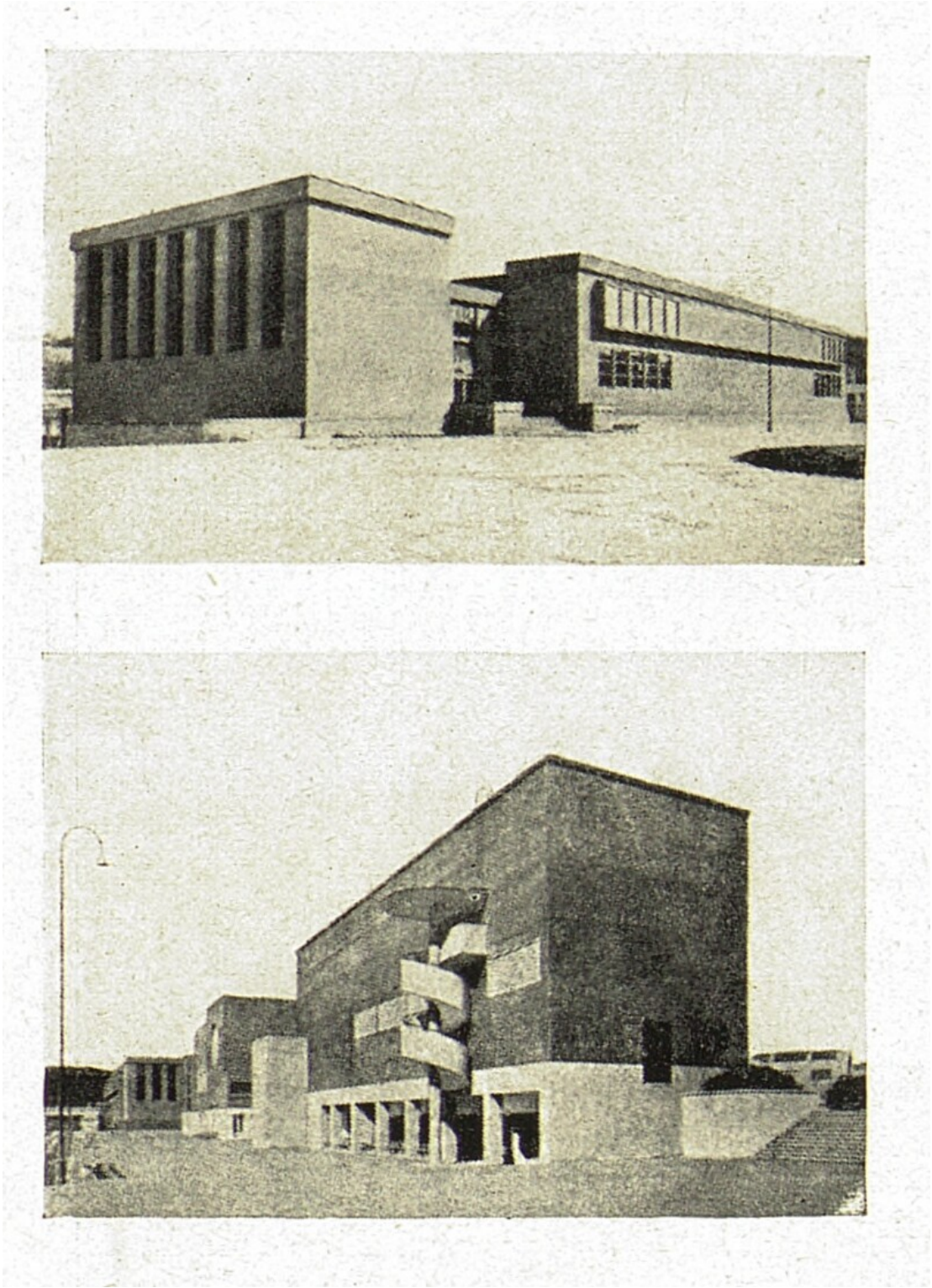
Ludvíka Smrčková, Wreaths for Flowers, Drinkware, c. 1934, clear blown glass, manufactured by Antonín Rückl and Sons, Nová Hut' pod Nižborem, published in Lucie Vlčková and Alice Hekrdlová, eds., *Krásná jizba a dp, 1927-1948: Design pro demokracii* (Prague: Kant, 2018): 193.

Figure 167

[image redacted]

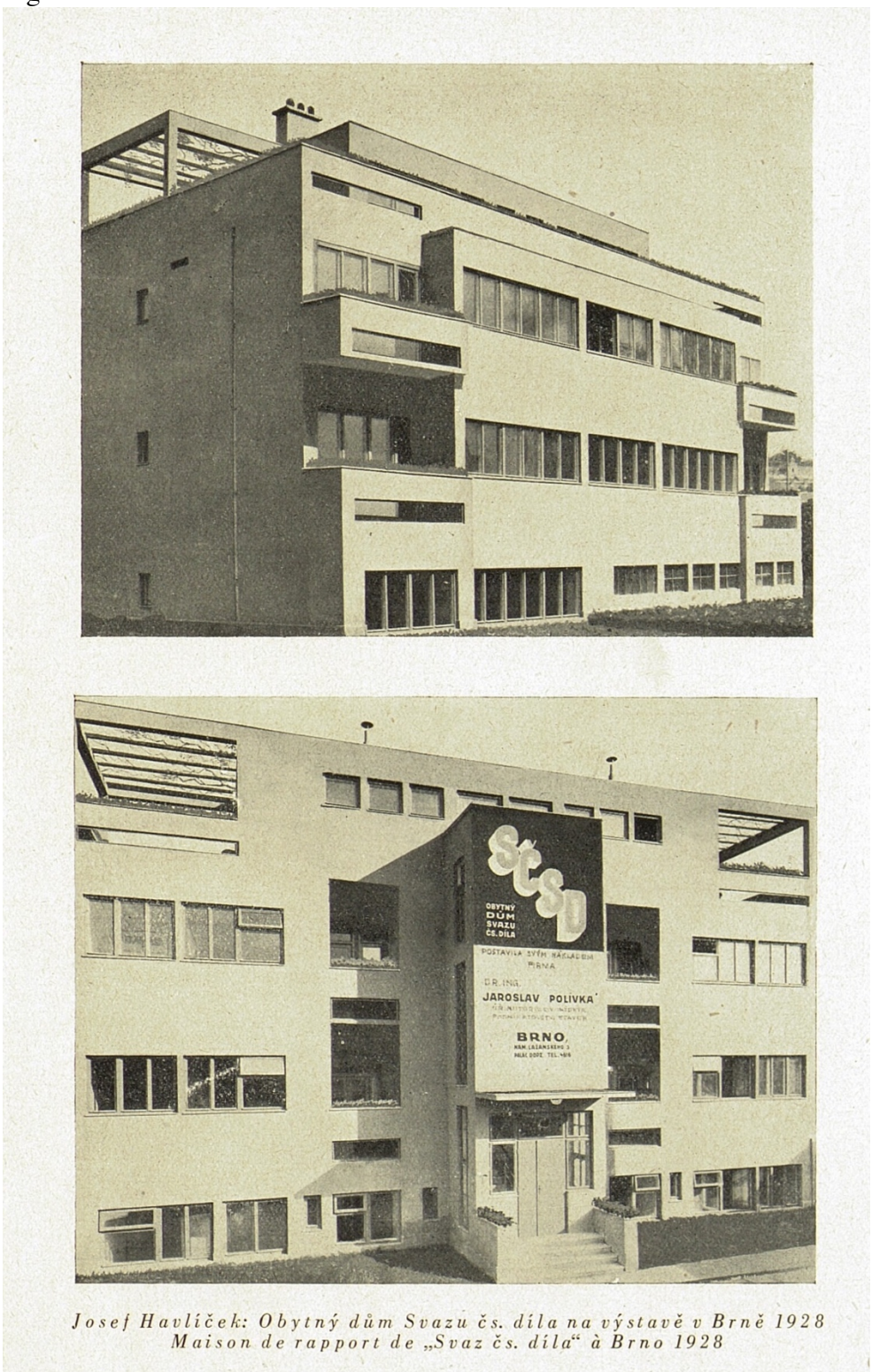
Ladislav Sutnar, Tea Service, 1931, Palex brand borosilicate boiling glass, photograph by Josef Sudek, published in Lucie Vlčková and Alice Hekrdlová, eds., *Krásná jizba a dp, 1927-1948: Design pro demokracii* (Prague: Kant, 2018): 187.

Figure 168



Top: Kamil Roškot, Pavilion for the City of Prague; Bottom: Bohuslav Fuchs, Pavilion for the City of Brno, Brno Exhibition of Contemporary Culture, 1928, published in *Výtvarné snahy* X, no. 1 (1928): 8.

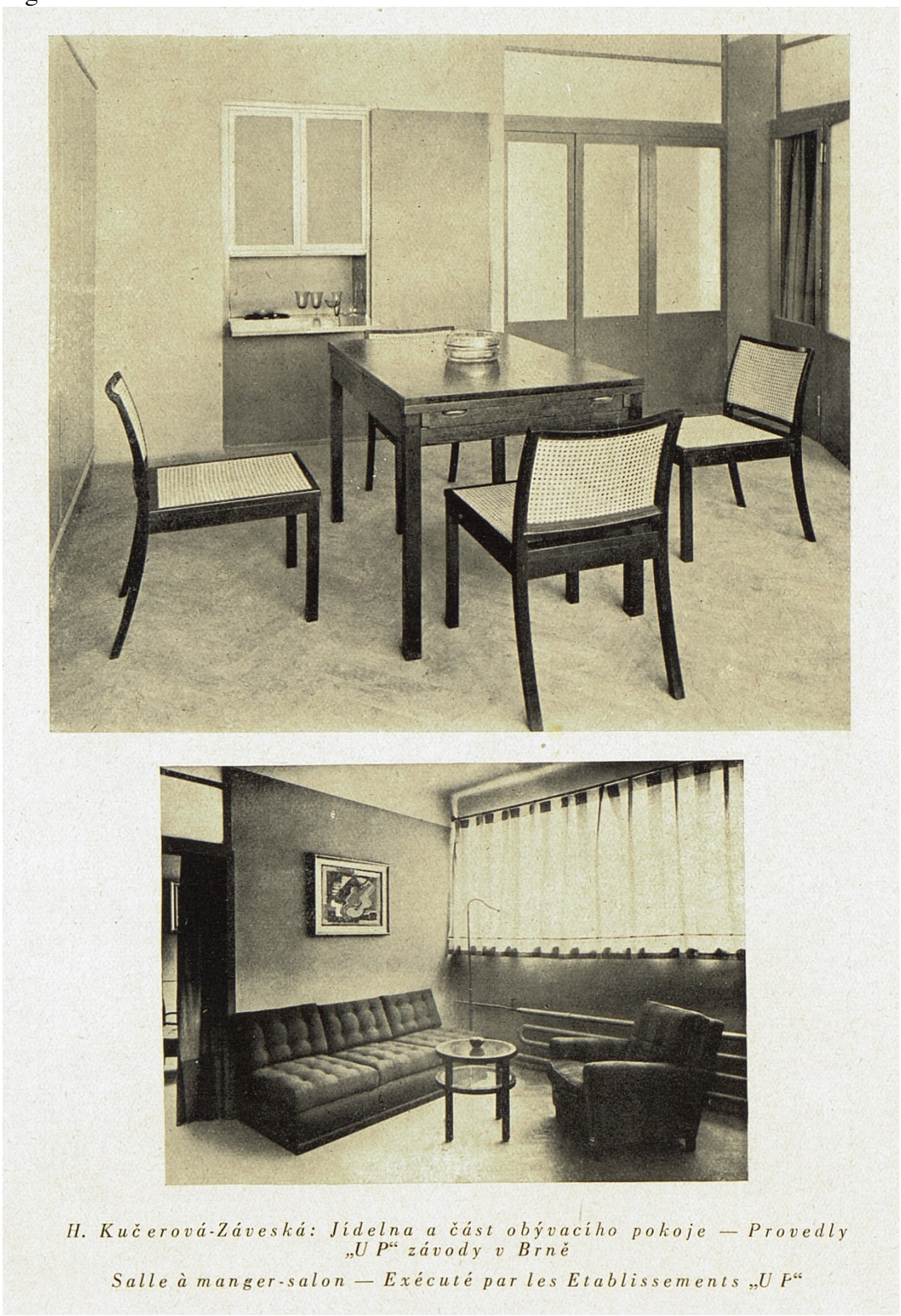
Figure 169



Josef Havlíček: Obytný dům Svazu čs. díla na výstavě v Brně 1928
Maison de rapport de „Svaz čs. díla" à Brno 1928

Josef Havlíček, Svaz československého díla (SČSD) Pavilion, published in *Výtvarné snahy* X, no. 5 (1928): 84.

Figure 170



H. Kučerová-Záveská: Jídelna a část obývacího pokoje — Provedly „U P" závody v Brně

Salle à manger-salon — Exécuté par les Etablissements „U P"

Hana Kučerová-Záveská, Dining Room and Living Room, produced for UP model house in Brno, 1928, published in *Výtvarné snahy* X, no. 5 (1928): 79.

Figure 171

Vlastislav Hofman and Karel Honzík, Artěl exhibit, Brno Exhibition, 1928, published in *Výtvarné snahy* X, no. 6 (1928-1929): 97.

Figure 172

Vlastislav Hofman and Karel Honzík, Artěl exhibit, Brno Exhibition, 1928, published in *Výtvarné snahy* X, no. 6 (1928-1929): 97.

Figure 173

[image redacted]

Svaz Československého Díla, Baba Housing Estate, 1932, Prague.

Figure 174

[image redacted]

Map of Baba Houses and their Architects.

Figure 175

Pavel Janák, Janák House, 1932, photo: Jirka Dl, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=37793984.

Figure 176

Mart Stam, Palička/Paličková-Mildeová House, 1932, photo: Von Jirka Dl, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=37795103.

Figure 177

Oldřich Starý, Ladislav Sutnar House, 1932, photo: Von Jirka Dl, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=37793992.

Figure 178

Oldřich Starý, Ladislav Sutnar House, 1932, photo: Von Jirka Dl, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=37794007.

Figure 179

[image redacted]

Hana Kučerová-Záveská, Balling House, 1932, published in Stephan Templ, *Baba: The Werkbund Housing Estate, Prague* (Basel: Birkhauser, 1999): 90.

Figure 180

[image redacted]

Hana Kučerová-Záveská, Balling House plan, 1932, published in Stephan Templ, *Baba: The Werkbund Housing Estate, Prague* (Basel: Birkhauser, 1999): 92.

Figure 181

[image redacted]

Hana Kučerová-Záveská, Balling House interior, 1932, published in Stephan Templ, *Baba: The Werkbund Housing Estate, Prague* (Basel: Birkhauser, 1999): 93.

Figure 182

[image redacted]

Hana Kučerová-Záveská, Balling House built-in dressing room furniture, 1932, published in Stephan Templ, *Baba: The Werkbund Housing Estate, Prague* (Basel: Birkhauser, 1999): 93.

Figure 183

Margaret Schütte-Lihotzky, Frankfurt Kitchen, 1926, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=551167.

Figure 184

[image redacted]

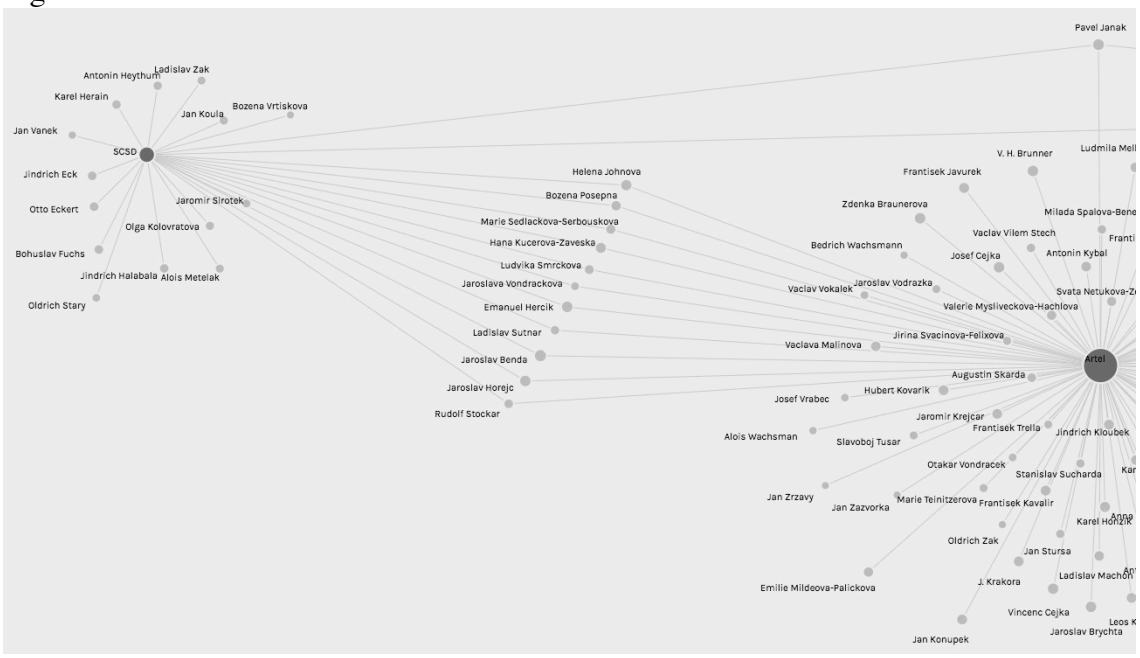
Ludvíka Smrčková, Vase with Etched Strawberry Motif, 1943, manufactured by Bohemian-Moravian Glassworks, clear glass, published in Lucie Vlčková and Alice Hekrdlová, eds., *Krásná jizba a dp, 1927-1948: Design pro demokracii* (Prague: Kant, 2018): 202.

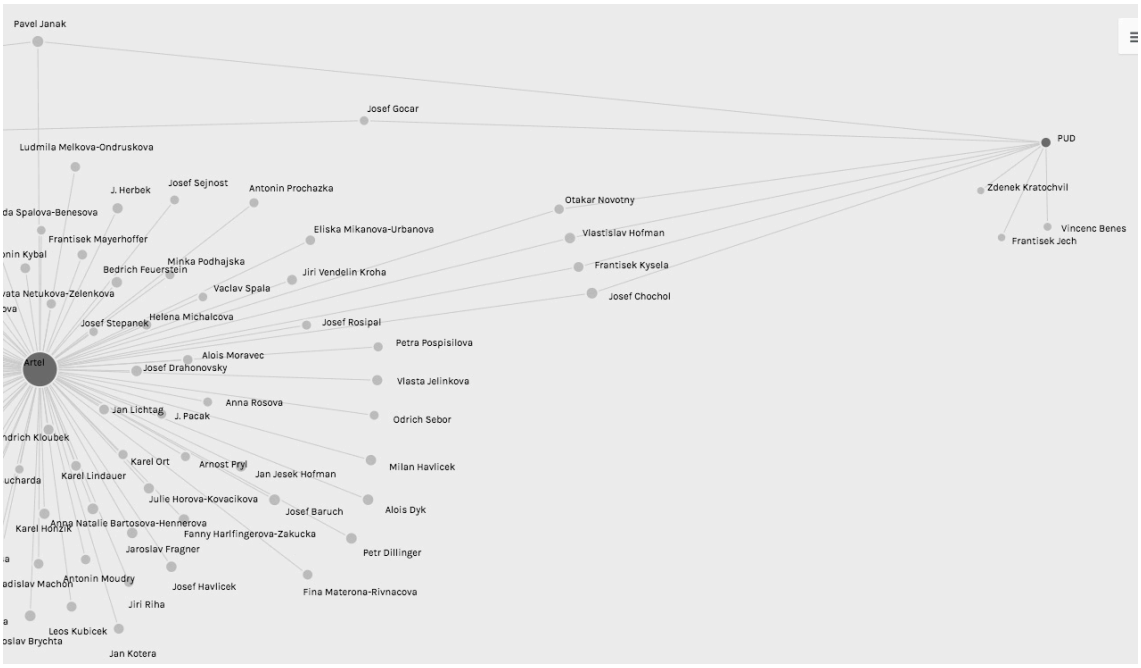
Figure 185

[image redacted]

Vladimír Slezák (?), Chiseled Wooden Bowls, c. 1940, published in Lucie Vlčková and Alice Hekrdlová, eds., *Krásná jizba a dp, 1927-1948: Design pro demokracii* (Prague: Kant, 2018): 310.

Figure 186





Network analysis of artist groups in early-twentieth-century Prague, created using Palladio by Stanford University; The network graph is split into two halves for printing here. With Artěl in the middle, the left half of the network graph shows the main figures in the SČSD and the bridge members between the SČSD and Artěl, while the right half of the graph shows the members of the PUD and bridges between that group and Artěl. Pavel Janák was a key figure active in all three groups.

Appendices

List of Artěl Affiliates and Contributors[400]

1. Bartošová-Hennerová, Anna Natalie (1899-1921)
2. Baruch, Josef (Jožka) (1892-1966)
3. Benda, Jaroslav (1882-1970)
4. Braunerová, Zdeňka (1858-1934)
5. Brunner, Vratislav Hugo (1886-1928)
6. Brychta, Jaroslav (1895-1971)
7. Čejka, Josef (1886-1932)
8. Čejka, Vincenc
9. Chochol, Josef (1880-1956)
10. Dillinger, Petr (1899-1954)
11. Drahoňovský, Josef (1877-1938)
12. Drtikol, František (1883-1961)
13. Dyk, Alois (1881-1971)
14. Feuerstein, Bedřich (1892-1936)
15. Fragner, Jaroslav (1898-1967)
16. Harlfingerová-Zákucká, Fanny (1873-1954)
17. Haunerová, Božena (1884-1931)
18. Havlíček, Milan (1873-1917)
19. Havlíček, Josef (1889-1961)
20. Hercík, Emanuel? (1892-1957)
21. Hofman, Jan Ješek (1883-1945)
22. Hofman, Vlastislav (1884-1964)
23. Honzík, Karel (1900-1966)
24. Horejc, Jaroslav (1886-1983)
25. Horová-Kováčiková, Julie (1906-1978)
26. Hrbek, J.
27. Janák, Pavel (1882-1956)
28. Javůrek, František, manufacturer (1882-?)
29. Jelínková, Vlasta (1891-1980)
30. Johann Oertel & Co., manufacturer (1869-1938)
31. Johnová, Helena (1884-1962)
32. Kavalír, František (1878-1932)
33. Kloubek, Jindřich (1882-?)
34. Konůpek, Jan (1883-1950)
35. Korbelář
36. Kovařík, Hubert
37. Kotěra, Jan (1871-1923)
38. Krákora, J.

[400] This list is composed from several sources, especially Vondráčková, 1968; Fronek, 2009; and the online Archiv výtvarného umění, http://www.isabart.org/.

39. Krejcar, Jaromír (1895-1950)
40. Kroha, Jiří Vendelín (1893-1974)
41. Kubíček, Leoš (1887-1974)
42. Kučerová-Záveská, Hana (1904-1940)
43. Kybal, Antonín (1901-1971)
44. Kysela, František (1881-1941)
45. Lichtág, Jan (1898-1985)
46. Lindauer, Karel (1875-1943)
47. Machoň, Ladislav (1888-1973)
48. Malinová, Václava (1893-?)
49. Maternová-Řivnáčová, Fína (1887-)
50. Mayerhoffer, František (1900-1969)
51. Melková-Ondrušová, Ludmila (1897-1955)
52. Michalcová, Helena
53. Mikanová-Urbanová, Eliška (1879-?)
54. Mildeová-Paličková Emílie (1892-1973)
55. Moravec, Alois (1899-1987)
56. Moudrý, Antonín (1892-1948)
57. Myslivečková-Hachlová, Valerie (1878-1968)
58. Netuková-Zelenková, Svata
59. Novotný, Otakar (1880-1959)
60. Ort, Karel (1881-1936)
61. Pacák, J.
62. Podhajská, Minka (1881-1963)
63. Pošepná, Božena (1895-1951)
64. Pospíšilová, Petra (1887-1936)
65. Procházka, Antonín (1882-1945)
66. Pryl, Arnošt, manufacturer
67. Říha, Jiří?
68. Rosipal, Josef (1884-1914)
69. Rosová, Anna (1899-?)
70. Šebor, Oldřich (1892-1939)
71. Sedláčková-Serbousková, Marie (1895-1964)
72. Šejnost, Josef (1878-1941)
73. Škarda, Augustin (1871-1937)
74. Smrčková, Ludvíka (1903-1991)
75. Špála, Václav (1885-1946)
76. Špálová-Benešová Milada (1884-1963)
77. Štech, Václav Vilém (1885-1974)
78. Štěpánek, Josef (1889-1964)
79. Stockar, Rudolf (1886-1957); director (1915-1925)
80. Štursa, Jan (1880-1925)
81. Sucharda, Stanislav (1866-1916)
82. Sutnar, Ladislav (1897-1976)
83. Svačinová-Felixová, Jiřina (1892-?)
84. Teinitzerová-Hoppeová, Marie (1879-1960)

85. Trella, František (1886-?)
86. Tusar, Slavoboj (1883-1950)
87. Vodrážka, Jaroslav? (1894-1984)
88. Vokálek, Václav (1891-1970)
89. Vondráček, A.
90. Vondráček, Otakar (?-1955)
91. Vondráčková, Jaroslava (1894-1986); director (1927-1931)
92. Vrabec, Josef, manufacturer
93. Wachsman, Alois
94. Wachsmann, Bedřich (1871-1944)
95. Žák, Oldřich (1900-1983)
96. Zázvorka, Jan (1884-1963)
97. Zrzavý, Jan (1890-1977)

List of Related Artist Collectives in Prague and Czechoslovakia

1. Spolek výtvarných umělců Mánes (SVU Mánes) [Mánes Union of Fine Artists], 1887-Present
2. Osma [The Eight], 1907-1908
3. Skupina výtvarných umělců (Skupina, or SVU) [Group of Fine Artists], 1911-1914
4. Spojené uměleckoprůmyslové závody Brno (SUP) [United Artists Industry], 1920-1948
5. Svaz českého díla (SČD) [Czech Werkbund], 1914-1918
6. Svaz československého díla (SCSD) [Czechoslovak Werkbund], 1918-1948

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